THE LIBERATOR
—IS PUBLISHED—
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
—AT—
221 WASHINGTON STREET, ROOM No. 6.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, GENERAL AGENT.

☞ TERMS—Two dollars and fifty cents per annum, in advance.

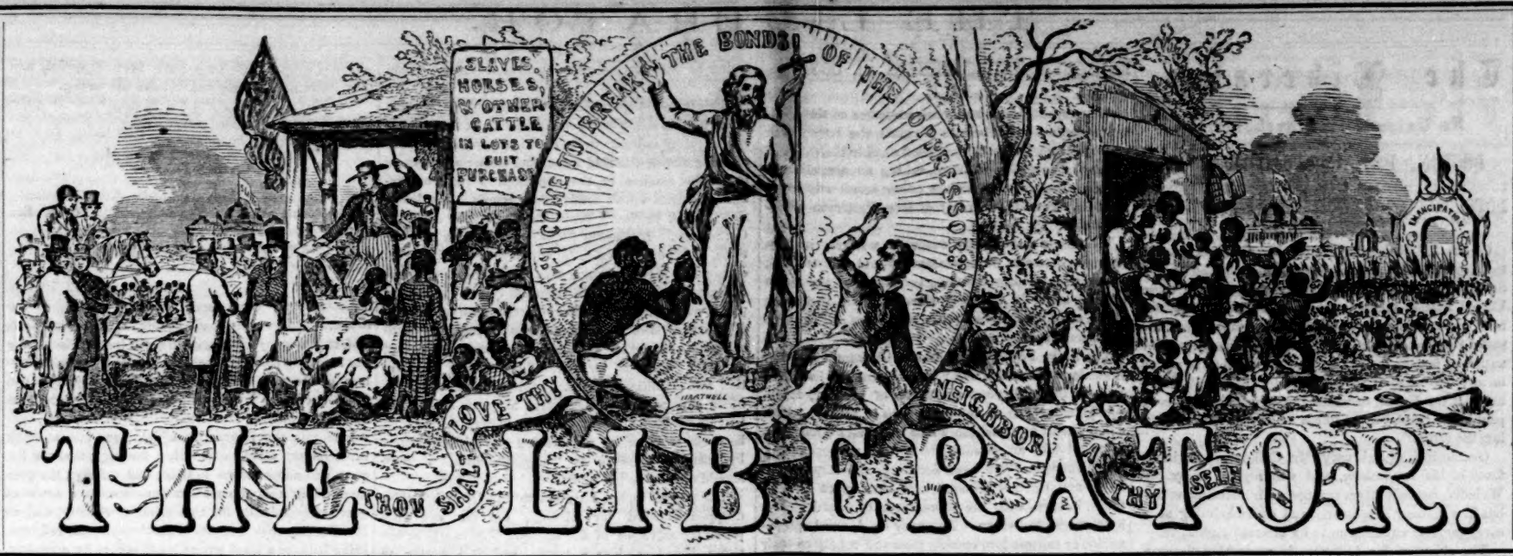
☞ Five copies will be sent to one address for TEN DOLLARS, if payment be made in advance.

☞ All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed (POST PAID) to the General Agent.

☞ Advertisements inserted at the rate of five cents per line.

☞ The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

☞ The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDMUND QUINCY, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.


SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
I COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSED
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF
THE LIBERATOR

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

☞ "What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of this House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and of slavery. There is no name in the language of national jurisprudence that can define it—no model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 29. BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 19, 1861. WHOLE NO. 1595.

Refuge of Oppression.

LETTER FROM ALABAMA.

MARION, Alabama, June 20, 1861.

Editors Journal of Commerce:

* * * * Assured that our cause is just, and that we are fighting in defence of our homes and families, we will spend our last dollar and our last drop of blood before we will submit to the North. Do not misunderstand us. We mean that we will never reënter the old Union,—no, nor form a *new* Union (whatever guarantees may be offered us) with the North, upon any terms. Concede our absolute independence, and we desire peace above all things. But we will not wear the Northern yoke under any conditions whatever. You cannot conquer us, any more than we could conquer you. We can send, if it be necessary, man for man, with the North; and we can do so with far less inconvenience, as the negroes make our crops for us. We have no fears of servile insurrection. Our slaves are contented, and cared for as no other laboring population on the globe is cared for. They know that their masters are their best friends, and they know the hollowness of Abolition professions. We can send into the field half a million of men, unequalled as material for armies. Almost every man of them has been accustomed to the use of the rifle from early boyhood, and is a good rider. This we can do, and not only raise all the food we need, but also nearly three millions of bales of cotton. But this is not all. We could *repeat!* Yes, we could send another half million of men; and still raise enough to live on, and *some* cotton to sell. Can the North do as much, or do it without certain ruin? Cotton is the great source of our prosperity; but we can *live* without raising more than what we wear ourselves. Even this we are willing to come to, rather than yield. The North must not only conquer us—if it can—but must *annihilate* us. Nothing less will suffice. We are prepared to see our plantations devastated, our families murdered, and our country reduced to a desert; prepared to see our race extinguished and our enemies in possession of our fair heritage; prepared for everything but *submission*.

Judge for yourselves what kind of resistance you are likely to encounter from men animated by such a spirit. We are sending our best men to the war, men who have everything at stake—character, position, wealth. I do not doubt that Northern men are brave. But they are not fighting for home and all that makes life dear, as we are. Surely, intelligent men at the North cannot long remain under the delusion that the South is "aggressing" upon the North. We seek only our own things; we ask but to be let alone. Prove, as much as you please, that *you* "have a Government." But it is not ours. *We* have a Government, too—a Government which exists by the only rightful title, that of the consent of the governed. Our people pay ready and cheerful obedience to a Government chosen freely by themselves, and with a unanimity almost unexampled in the history of revolutions. It is a Government of the Constitution and of the laws. Our President does not claim the prerogative of suspending the *habeas corpus*, nor of disobeying the solemn decisions of the courts, nor has he ever set the military above the civil power. If he should attempt such outrages, we are not the people to submit to them. We ask no "higher law" than the Constitution. But if, by a righteous retribution, you have lost your own liberty in trying to subject us to your yoke, it is no concern of ours. Let us alone, and you shall have—all we claim the right to give—our best wishes for your deliverance from burdens such as neither we nor our fathers were able to bear.

I will not protract this communication, already too long, by any details respecting the *cotton* subscriptions for our *fifty million loan*. Suffice it to say, that there is every prospect that the Government will obtain at least a million of bales in exchange for its bonds. The army supplies, too, will be furnished in the same way. Many of our planters offer half their cotton and corn crop. Some offer everything above necessary expenses. And if loans will not suffice, they are ready to *give* whatever Government may require, and whenever it chooses to ask. We feel that our *all* is at stake, and we are ready to sacrifice all. The *embargo* was a bad stroke of policy for the Northwest. They have lost their best customers, without injuring us at all.

When I am tempted to think hardly of the North, I call to mind your own noble endeavors in the cause of truth and peace and freedom. I dwell also upon the pieces of "A. B. J.," "J. M. B.," and many others of your correspondents, who have battled so nobly against prejudice and fanaticism. For the sake of such spirits, I try to think well of all—at least, to hope that all will learn of them.

Yours truly, S. C. D.

THE PEACE RESOLUTION OFFERED BY GOV. SEYMOUR.

We publish in another column, the brief peace resolution with its preamble, offered in the House of Representatives of this State, by ex-Gov. Thomas H. Seymour, on the 3d of July. We ask for them an attentive consideration by our readers.

The Republican papers have assailed this resolution, as well as the preamble that precedes it; and they are quite profuse in branding it "traitorous." If an effort to save the Union and the government of the United States, by constitutional measures, in a peaceful way, is traitorous, then this resolution is traitorous. But if such an effort is patriotic, then Gov. Seymour's resolution is patriotic. Of Gov. Seymour's own views, it is not necessary for us to speak, for we publish a sketch of his remarks, submitted to the Legislature when he offered the resolution. No man in the community has more heartfelt desire to preserve the Union than Gov. Seymour. No man entertains more patriotic sentiments than he. But if he believes that a war between the free and slave States of the Union, is calculated to break down the Constitution, and sever the Union forever, and so expresses himself, is his love of country and his patriotism to be questioned? Indeed, if he offers a proposition to settle our difficulties, as they have in the earlier days of the Republic been honorably settled, without bloodshed, is he, for that act of peace, to preserve the Union, a "traitor"? Shame upon the men and the presses who make such a charge!

But what is his proposition? The preamble gives briefly the reasons why the resolution is submitted. It says a third of the sovereign States have withdrawn from the Union. It is true. Do you say they cannot withdraw? They *have* withdrawn—wrongfully, if you please. The fact is so. The effort to compel their return has assumed the proportions of civil war. We all know this is true. The people everywhere feel it. We at the North believe they are wrong in seceding: they believe they are right. We believe that they did not have sufficient cause for secession or revolution: they believe they had. Shall two-thirds of the country, then, force the views of the other third up to the precise point of their own ideas upon these questions? This cannot be done. The two-thirds may beat the one-third in battle, and thus make them more embittered. This will not make their views harmonize with those of the victors. As all, then, have a common interest in the welfare of the country, and all have equal rights, is it not best for all to conciliate, and settle the questions at issue in a peaceable manner? This idea would be carried out practically, by offering the Crittenden Compromise. It is not dishonorable, and it is in no way injurious to the North.

Gov. Seymour's resolution offers that plan of adjustment. And it protests against any interference by warlike movements with the institution of slavery. It appears to us that no true-hearted Union man, no real conservative freeman, who cherishes a regard for the Constitution and the Union, can object to either of these propositions.

We look upon the parrot cry of "traitor," "traitor," raised by a certain class of men, every time that some o'd and tried friend of the Union lisps a word in favor of any other settlement to preserve the Union, save by the sword and through blood, as disgraceful rather than patriotic.—*Hartford Times.*

Selections.

TREASONABLE PUBLICATIONS.

Rebel newspapers, in time of war, ought to be suppressed by the strong arm of the people, if not otherwise, as well as rebel flags. The flouting of such a flag in the face of loyal citizens is no more insulting to the community, than for such a paper to continue pouring out treason by the column, day after day, to encourage and stimulate an unholy rebellion against the government. The suppression of such a publication in a summary manner would not infringe upon the "freedom of the press," because the press has no more right to inculcate treason than it has to encourage and applaud arson, assassination, burglary or highway robbery. The press, in its boasted freedom, has no such right. If you find a vagrant picking a friend's pocket, a burglar entering a friend's house, an incendiary firing a neighbor's dwelling, you will, without stopping for law, precepts, constitutions or bills of rights, stop his depredations at all hazards! So in case of treason, and the preachers and apologists of treason.

We are now in the midst of a war, big with the fate of human freedom and liberal government. Brave men are imperiling their lives to suppress a rebellion that seeks to undermine the very pillars of civil liberty, and we insist that loyal citizens are not required to sit unmoved, and see audacious rebels at their base work all around them, spreading noxious and traitorous principles broadcast over the land, misrepresenting the government, exulting over its disasters, applauding the successes of its enemies, and glorying in a fancied prospect of its final overthrow. Self-protection is the first law of nature—the "higher law"; and a treasonable newspaper, conducted with the ability which characterizes the New York *Daily News*, is much more dangerous in a loyal community than a score of treasonable individuals. Why should we suppress a pirate flag on our waters, and at the same time protect a pirate newspaper on shore? The question of the freedom of the press is not involved in the suppression of a traitorous public journal.

In this connection, we may be permitted to remark that we have misjudged the loyal people of this city, if some of the Aldermen who gave their votes and their influence to continue official patronage to a press sustained by Southern subscriptions, which advocates secession treason, and prompts the reckless rebels of the South to spill the blood of our patriotic brothers and friends who have obeyed the call of our country, and marched forth to its defence,—do not bring down upon their heads a scorching rebuke in the just indignation of the people, when they shall again make an appeal for popular suffrage. The *Daily News* is constantly scattering the firebrands of treason and disunion with an unsparing hand, and yet it is retained as a "corporation paper," and is supported from our city treasury to the extent of $20,000 a year! It is within the power of the Aldermen now to wipe out this shameful reproach. If they fail to do it promptly, let them not complain if their loyal constituents class them with the enemies of our country, and treat them accordigly.—*N. Y. Atlas.*

WHAT GUARANTEE?

Suppose for a moment that it were possible for the Government and the people of the country to agree to some pact with the Rebels, to make some bargain with them to bribe them back to allegiance, to complete some compromise with a view to the termination of this rebellion. What guarantee is there that the leaders of Southern sentiment would prove true to their agreement; would, after we had bowed ourselves anew to them, lay down their arms; would carry out the conditions upon which they should induce us to debase ourselves, and throw away the moral strength with which the Union and its supporters are now clothed as with a garment?

Suppose a compromise made, whether by direct treaty with the Rebel chiefs, through the medium of a National Convention, through the spontaneous passage of "new guaranties to slavery" by the National Congress, or in any other manner best calculated to make it binding upon the Southern leaders, and to surround it with an especial solemnity. They would agree to disband their troops, to surrender the forts they have seized, to return the money and arms they have confiscated, to submit in all respects to the Constitution and the laws.

But what would such an agreement be worth? It is not three years since Davis made a tour of New England, and indulged in the most superlative eulogies of the Union. There is not one of these Rebel leaders who has not, by his adherence to secession, violated the most solemn oaths of fidelity to the United States. They have broken the common obligations of loyalty, and the oaths prescribed in every State for every official, to obey the Constitution of the Union. They have trampled on the pledges of honor, added to the religious vows, by which soldiers are bound to their flag, and representatives and privy councillors to their Government. They have made mockery of every bond which can inspire confidence among men, and have defied the universal sentiments which induce even barbarians to observe plighted faith. They have proven false to the maxims of simple honesty, and have turned their backs on all the obligations of commercial honor. What pledge can they give which they have not already violated? To what divinity can they appeal whom they have not already dishonored?

Or shall we rely on the fact that their interests will induce the Rebels to fulfill any new compact which they may frame? They have as palpably gone counter to the dictates of prudence in their rebellious vagaries, as they have to the code of commercial honesty, of personal honor, of religious obligation. They have brought on themselves the burdens of war in a reckless endeavor to rob themselves of the blessings of the most beneficent of Governments. They have chosen despotism, limitless taxation, anarchy, ruin in all its forms, instead of a free Government which they themselves controlled—as mild as favor could suggest, and with taxation little more than nominal, so kind, and so generous, that they knew only the blessings, none of the burdens of authority. Yet against this they rebelled. Before we can rely again on their regard for their own interests, we must have proof that they have become once more true to themselves.

One of the direct effects of the Southern rebellion is, that no confidence can be placed in Southern pledges. Was not Floyd under oath to be true to the Union? Was not Twiggs held by every tie to the flag entrusted to him to maintain? Did not John Tyler act as President of a Peace Convention to cover up his work in pressing Virginia out of the Union? Has a spark of honesty or honor glimmered out of the dark level of their turpitude and baseness? The Rebels of the South can give no guarantees of fidelity which can be accepted. Their own character, as well as the honor and duty of the Government, forbids that any bargain, any compromise should be made with them.

A compromise which shall lower the standard of the Government, which shall be false to the sentiment of the North, which shall concede "new guaranties to slavery," which shall fail to punish the robbery and treason and murder which have marked the rebellion, will be a substantial defeat of the National Government. Is this not an obvious fact? Grant that these conspirators shall impose their policy on the Union; concede that they shall dictate our legislation and policy; allow them to continue to use the National Government as an instrument for their own purposes, and they will possess the real fruits of victory.

Surely, the Government, with a half million of men at its back, cannot contemplate the idea of such a surrender to Jeff. Davis and his minions. Surely the country which has risen like a strong man for the maintenance of popular institutions, will not accept so submissively the rule of the sword. For whatever less than the full enforcement of the Constitution and laws throughout the Union shall be accepted as a settlement—whatever less than the punishment of rebellion—whatever less than the restoration of the Union's flag to every flagstaff along the Potomac and the Mississippi and the Gulf—will be so much conceded to the bayonets and the artillery of the Rebel army. The Government cannot treat at all until the weapons and standards of revolt are laid down, without seeming to yield to force that which it has denied to reason.

And any arrangement made with these conspirators under arms would be a premium upon rebellion, an invitation to every disappointed faction to appeal from the ballot to the arbitrament of the bullet. Suppose we are trimmers enough, suppose there is in us cowardice sufficient, to fail of the duty which Providence has imposed upon the American people. Suppose the dollar stands out so near our vision as to cover everything else. It behooves us simply as misers, as cowards, as trimmers, to beware lest a nominal settlement shall, while striking down the strength of the Government, make rebellion both perpetual and all-pervading.—*Oneida Weekly Herald.*

HENRY WARD BEECHER ON THE WAR AND NEGRO CATCHING.

We take the following from a sermon preached by Mr. Beecher, on Sunday, to the members of the Brooklyn Phalanx:—

"Some people ask if this is to be a crusade of emancipation? No, it is not. I hate slavery intensely—as much as any other man. I detest it. Slavery of a white man or a black man, of the needle of the factory, of the shop, of the plantation. I love the family of man. I believe every man has a right to his liberty, his own freedom. Liberty is the birthright of every man, yet yours is not an army of emancipation. Why? Because the fifteen States of the South are guaranteed security in their property, and we have no right by force to dispossess them of that property. But, while we send down armies to quell insurrection, to keep the peace and crush out rebellion, the slaves avail themselves of the chance to cut and run, that is their lookout—not ours. (Laughter.) It is no intention of ours; but if, as a natural consequence, liberty follows, I shall be glad of it. I believe that before the judgment seat of God, white and black will be alike; still, we do not go South to free the slaves. While, however, we do not go South for that, we do not go South to be anybody's nigger catcher.

So far as I am concerned, I would see my arm wither in its socket, and my flesh perish in corruption, before I'd lift one finger or stir one foot towards sending a slave back to bondage. When the Fourteenth Regiment was at Washington, three dusky fugitives came into their camp, and a file of men were ordered by General Sanford to take them—where? Not to freedom, but back to their master, and their master gladly accepted them, and departed without taking the oath of allegiance. (Cries of 'shame.') Now if I'd been Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Adjutant and Major rolled into one, I would have said, 'Boys, there's the bush, and if you get there before I do, you are good fellows;' and I think they would succeed, for I should suddenly become lame. (Laughter.) Many people fear that if the slaves should gain their freedom, they would swarm at the North. Don't you believe it. The black face was made to kiss the sun, and the North Pole is not suited to the skin of the blacks. Under heat that would wilt you, the negro begins to feel quite spruce, and can work with glee where you and I would melt. And I believe Canada, in five years, would be emptied of her black population, and a colored face in New York would be a curiosity.

Well, what else will be done? I know that at present it doesn't look as though the South would ever love us very much, but they will. I have seen, in a village, a big, blustering bully, who for days has been blazing about the streets, making everybody fear him, until all at once he comes upon some little plucky, gritty chap, who, galled by his manner, suddenly pitches into him, and thoroughly thrashes him. Instantly, and curiously, the bully changes. He's happy, jolly, kind, good-natured, and singularly pleasant. He's like flax, which, you know, is never good for anything till it's been whipped. (Laughter.) So I think no men can be better than the Southern men will be after they have been whipped; and it won't be hard to whip them, either. Thus far they have played an undertaker's part. They have dug graves and fought out of them, but whenever our men have had a fair show at them, the Southerners have run away—scampered like sheep. Let us hear no talk of peace. We can have no peace. When victory furls our regimental banners, we shall have peace, but not till then. The South will find that they are not half so smart as they think they are, and you are smarter than ever. It's time to stop their talk of whipping us. They say one South Carolinian can whip five Yankees. Well, perhaps they could, if they had the same chance at the Yankees that he has at his darkies. Otherwise, I can't see it. A great light of information is to break upon them in this regard.

You *are* smarter than they. The men in the armies of the North are accustomed to work; the muscles of their arms are like whipcords, and their bones will strike fire upon flints; and they will, man to man, make a better fight than the Southerners, who have not the health that comes to the farmers and the mechanics of the North. This is spoken of in no boastful spirit. But suppose there were no difference in this respect, our army to theirs would be as two to one. General Scott was right to wait until he gets such a bolt in his hand that they won't want but one thunderbolt. When they had felt the Northern blow, they would be done boasting and gasconading. When the 'greasy mechanics' and 'mudsills' had their hands about the throats of these bombastic fellows for a while, they would command their respect. The war was not made to deprive the South of any rights. All we asked was, that she should not pull down the Stars and Stripes—the American eagle should nowhere be impeded in his flight from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the lakes to the gulf."

EDWARD EVERETT.

Like Douglas, Everett has been sacrificed to the South, and none of his friends feel more than he the unseemly conduct of his associate, Bell, on the Presidential ticket—the superannuated dotard with whom our polished statesman allied himself. He merits the name of a good patriot, and no man living has done so much work for the nation that may be called patriotic rather than partisan, as Edward Everett. He is a kind-hearted, exemplary, conscientious man; and although having none of the grit of Douglas, he is, in his own way, very decided in his purposes, certainly needing no little steadfastness to sustain him in his conservative position among the hosts of radicals about him. He, like Douglas, is to be respected for not wishing to make the welfare of the nation secondary to the slave question, and for daring to oppose that narrow and destructive form of abolitionism that has been from the beginning disloyal to our nation, and ready to sell the country anywhere, at home or abroad, to the fanciers of its fanaticism. His Southern proclivities have been far beyond ours, and he has met the usual lot of Northern politicians who have relied on such favor. It is well that he lives to do justice to himself and his betrayers, and to say such wise and uncompromising words as appear in his two recent papers on the crisis. His oration at New York on the Fourth will, I believe, be worthy of him, and will, we hope, have the true ring against all treason against the country, and all base compromises in the service of traitors. A little honest anti-slavery from his lips would be refreshing, and without asking him to saddle the nation with the problem whose solution is by our laws and usages mainly left to the States, how stirring would be one of his graphic pictures of the relative workings of the two systems of labor, and the destinies of them both! Why do not our public men say with one voice, that whilst we leave slavery to the action of the States within constitutional limits, we cannot permit it to overthrow our republican government; and whenever it persists in being thus revolutionary, it shall be brought to an end? The distribution of civil powers leaves to the States as much jurisdiction as possible; and herein our fathers were wise, and we follow them in our general policy towards the slave system. But revolution establishes new conditions, and calls for new safeguards of public order. The political power of the Slave Oligarchy is probably already broken, and the nation waits to see how far the institution itself must be assailed. It needs no prophet to declare that if the Slave Power continues long to threaten our capital, it will be marked for destruction, being indicted as a dangerous nuisance, and as such abated. We are safe, as a nation, with a homogeneous population in our Border States, especially in Virginia. If this State continues, at farthest, for one year its present attitude, the law of self-preservation will justify our Government in making that State homogeneous with us—freeing the slaves as articles contraband of war, without going to the length of universal proscription, or doing all the work in reserve for future State jurisdiction and moral suasion elsewhere. The nation must and will be preserved, and we are false to ourselves and to our country, if we allow this crisis, with all its cost of blood and treasure, to pass without an effectual check to the oligarchy of slaveholders, who, as such, have been, if not the authors, certainly the ready tools of the conspirators who are striving to destroy the Government, and make over our liberty to any clique or dynasty, domestic or foreign, who will secure the highest price to cotton and negroes. This nineteenth century is passing, and our America is yet to show that the heroism of the eighteenth century is not a mere tradition. You see, dear *Inquirer*, that I am still at work upon the old issue. A little bird sings to me to go out again among the haycocks, and I obey. What bird shall sing to us the destiny now to open as we approach the festival of our nationality, when Congress meets, and the great nation gathers in every city and village to celebrate its birth-day? Fifteen years more, and the century comes round. July 4th, 1776, is to have a significant answer from July 4th, 1876. I venture to predict that the Declaration of Independence will mean more in the State of Virginia than it ever has meant since the author was laid in his grave, and his people built his monument, and trampled upon his principles.

In closing, I would suggest to you and your readers a plain and solid ground of compromise on our national troubles. Let it be the platform of the Old Constitution. Let all the States who will, stand on that; let the seceding States claim the protection of its lawful authorities, and let all traitors be dealt according to its provisions. Any new compromise made in the interests of rebellion and despotism should be spurned as an act of treason.—*Correspondent of Christian Inquirer, Fairfield, Ct.*

NEW REIGN OF TERROR IN TENNESSEE.

Mr. H. P. Straight, who resides in the neighborhood of this village, and is a cousin of the Mr. Straight, of Cincinnati, so summarily driven out of Montgomery, Ala., a few months ago, has fifteen relatives now in Salem, Marion county, Illinois, who have been compelled to flee from their homes in Solon, White county, Tenn., at the peril of their lives, for no crime but that of loyalty to the Union. Among the number are his parents, between sixty and seventy years of age, (his father being described as a "white-haired old man,") and several helpless children.

The Straights emigrated from Ashtabula county in this State, to Tennessee, some years before the existing rebellion broke out, and had there accumulated considerable property, which has now fallen into the hands of the traitors. They are represented as industrious, intelligent and high-minded, and their unfortunate experience affords a new and most striking illustration of the barbarizing influences of the slave system.

Mr. Straight's brother-in-law writes from Hamilton county, Ill., immediately after the arrival of the exiled party in that State, as follows:—

"It is under extraordinary circumstances I address you from Illinois, but the spirit of rebellion that begun in South Carolina, has extended far enough North to embrace Tennessee, and there is a Reign of Terror such as was never witnessed on this continent before. The people have certainly gone mad. A great many families have been driven away. Among them was Mr. Wadsworth (formerly postmaster) and Mr. Hitt. They have hung several Union men, born in Tennessee. They threatened us with a halter for some time, before we would leave. We finally had to go, leaving everything but our clothes and bedding. Your father and Allen had ten acres of corn planted, twenty-five bushels of potatoes planted, sixteen acres of oats, good gardens, &c., seven good cows, young stock, sheep, hogs, &c. It is bad enough. Our means are nearly exhausted, and we shall have to stop.

Yours, &c., E. R. ALLYN."

Mr. Straight's sister also writes from the same county:—

"*Dear Brother*,—You will be surprised when you see the post-mark on this letter, and learn that we are north of Mason and Dixon's line, and still going northward. I think you know why we are here. We are eating our dinner under an oak tree. Father and mother, tired out, are lying on the ground asleep. You will hear more from us soon.

Your sister, ANNA E. STRAIGHT."

The following letter from the same writer shows the danger from which the party fled, and the destitute condition in which they arrived in Salem, Ill. We understand that Mr. Straight's father has some debtors in this section, and trust that, on reading it, they will feel the necessity of immediate payment:

"JUNE 23d, 1861.

Dear Brother and Sister,—I once more address a few lines to you, to let you know that we have stopped, for a short time. Father wishes me to say to you that he is now penniless, and he wishes to know if there is any prospect of his ever getting anything from ——. He would like to get some money to buy him a little home, if it is no more than a house and garden spot. . . . . He needs it as bad as he ever will. We had to leave everything to the Southern Confederacy. We could not stay in such a place. We have no cow, no money, no provisions, and, if we should be sick, we should suffer.

Mr. Covill has gone back to Thompson. If they did not kill him on the road, he can tell you how we left things. We have one chair, and that is all the furniture we have; no stove, no table,—nothing. We had just got our house well furnished, and had to leave everything without getting a cent for anything.

They are hanging men that were born and raised in Tennessee, because they were Union men. They set a day to come up to our house, and hang Allen and George, and had got their company organized, when it rained, and raised the water, so that they could not get there. . . . There were four families who came in two wagons—Allen's, Edmond's, Charley's and father's—in all, fifteen. We could only bring our beds and clothing, and hardly that. You know nothing of the excitement South. . . . .

From your sister, ANNA E. STRAIGHT.

Address Salem, Marion Co., Illinois."

We are told that the Mr. Corvill above mentioned has arrived in Thompson with an ox-team,—all the property he was able to save from the traitors, and with which he made his exit from the Southern Confederacy. He succeeded in getting safely out of Tennessee and through Kentucky, only by representing at every stopping-place, that he was moving to the next township. As might naturally be expected, he has a very unfavorable opinion of Southern institutions, and is opposed to all compromise with traitors.—*Jeffersonian (Ohio) Democrat.*

HOW THE NORTHERNERS ESCAPE.

We have seen a letter from Mr. A. G. Mathews, artist of this city, describing a tedious and cruel walk he made to escape the secessionists, all the way from Texas to Illinois. At the time the State of Alabama seceded, Mr. Mathews was a resident of that State, where he was employed as a teacher of a school. As he was ordered to join the rebel army, or else submit to a heavy fine, he left the locality, and went to Texas, to remain till the spring. But he found Texas very soon as hot a place as Alabama had been, and he then resolved to make his escape to a land of freedom. Wonderful as it may appear, he travelled on foot from Houston county, Texas, to Ironton, Missouri, sleeping in woods and swamps, traversing prairies and mountain ranges, and suffering alternately from the ravages of vigilance committees and vermin. Mr. Mathews left Texas in the last week of April, and reached Ironton about the 24th of May, whence he was taken, foot-sore, exhausted and penniless to Chicago, by the kindness of railroad officers.

At Chicago, he gave this account of his journey to the editor of the *Tribune*:—

"When the news of the bombardment of Sumter reached Houston county, the hostility to persons of Northern birth became so virulent that Mr. Mathews deemed an early departure essential to his personal safety. When this was followed by the news of President Lincoln's proclamation, he was required to join the rebel army instanter, or take his chances in what they denominated a court martial. He determined to do neither, and thereupon, with the north star for his beacon, and the night for his leave-taking, commenced his long and wearisome march for the free States. What with frequent bewilderment in the woods, and more frequent dodging and retreating to escape vigilance committees, Mr. Mathews thinks he must have travelled fully eight hundred miles before reaching an atmosphere where he could safely say that he was born on this side of Mason and Dixon. At Archidelphia, Arkansas, he was tried for the offence of travelling northward, and after escaping from the majority of the jury, by means of a tax receipt and a favorable notice in a Texan paper, he was taken in hand by the minority, and threatened with hanging in true Arkansas style. He managed to elude them in the night, and secrete himself in one of the mountain-ranges north of that place. A short time previous to his escape, three persons, hunting for cattle in the woods southwest of Archidelphia, were hung by a band of regulators, merely because in their terror they became confused, and were unable to give such an account of themselves as would be satisfactory to their captors. Trackless woods and swamps, deep rivers and heavy rains, continual arrests and persecutions, were his portion during the whole of the journey, until he reached the Missouri line.

In many parts of Arkansas, Mr. Mathews found Union men, and in some places (Batesville, for instance,) they were in the majority. These persons lived in perpetual terror, and were longing for nothing so much as a sight of a column of Federal troops to reinstate the supremacy of the laws.

The price of corn in that part of Texas where Mr. Mathews lived, was between three and four dollars per bushel, and all their supplies came from New Orleans by way of Shreveport. Among the poorer classes, there was great suffering for the necessaries of life, and he believes that in spite of all that is being done to increase the production of grain at the South, the blockade at Cairo will starve out the rebellion.

Is there a reign of terror at the South? Apply to Mr. Mathews for an answer, and read it in his wan features, his swollen feet, his crippled limbs, his dilapidated clothing, and his shattered health."

A letter from Mr. Mathews to his brother in this city adds:—

"My body is covered with the most distressing sores, caused by the bites of poisonous insects, the wounds enlarged and irritated by being obliged to wear and sleep in clothing saturated with perspiration, rain and swamp water; but they are now commencing to heal. Mr. Medill (editor of the Chicago *Tribune*) kindly furnished me with means for the present. . . . . When Alabama seceded, I was obliged to join the rebel ranks or be very heavily fined. So I immediately left, and went to Texas to stay until spring. A. E. MATHEWS."

The Washington *Star* gives the following account of outrages upon loyal men in Prince William Co., Virginia:—

"Citizens of the lower part of Prince William county are hourly making their way to Alexandria, some by boat and others on foot, to escape seizure, and God knows what afterwards, at the hands of the secessionist companies. Bands and gangs of them are scouring the country with lists of its voters against the ordinance of secession in hand, seizing and hurrying off towards Manassas Junction such of the supporters of the Union as they are able to catch. Among those residing between Occoquan and Dumfries, whom they have taken and carried off, are George Williams, John Hutchinson, William Maddox and Edward Bond.

Samuel Harrison, William Upton, Isaac Redmond, John Upton, Wesley Bland, William Harrison, Frank Gray and Robert Burch have, among others, been run off by them. Most of those last named escaped in one boat, their pursuers being so near at hand as that, ere they got out of their reach, they (the secessionists) fired some fifty shots after them, which were returned with seventeen shots in all—two or three of them being from a large ducking gun loaded with heavy shot, that made them scamper off, finally.

Such a reign of terror as the proceedings of these terrorists have inaugurated in Prince William, was never before seen in Virginia. Their object is, doubtless, to compel the Unionists to take up arms against the United States. They are mostly very poor, but, nevertheless, very patriotic men; and all of them that have escapted the clutches of their pursuers, swear vengeance against them. Their families, left behind, are utterly penniless, and unprovided with the commonest necessaries of life."

A young man who has reached Cairo, after a perilous flight from Memphis, where he was imprisoned, and daily expected to be hung for the crime of being a Northerner, tells the following, among other incidents:—

"About one week after his confinement, the Recorder of the city, I. M. Dickenson, sent for him, for the purpose, as he stated, 'of expressing his profound regret that it was not in his power to hang him.' And from his seat in court he denounced him as 'a damned abolitionist, who should not be allowed to live an hour. Had I the power,' said the learned jurist, 'I would cut your ears off, and nail you to the door of my court-room, and probably I shall have the pleasure yet.' This is the man who has just been elected Justice of the fifth civil district of Memphis, one of the most important offices in the city."

He describes some of the outrages inflicted on Unionists in the following words:—

"These indignities were of daily occurrences, and to some they went further, and indulged every species of cruelty—shaving the head and whipping being regarded as a slight punishment by any one who desired to remove North. Nor is this all. In more than fifty instances, during my confinement, men were taken before the Vigilance Committee, and no one knows what became of them. They never came from that building alive; and there are now more than that number confined there, of whom their friends will never hear again. Their acts are all secret, and there is no concern felt for men charged with being tinctured with abolitionism, so that no one cares; and thus they go on in their wholesale murdering with impunity."

A German, named Haywood, was tarred and cottoned in New Orleans, a few days since, for having joined several military companies, and then refusing to accompany any to the seat of war.

There is no end to the category of Southern outrages and atrocities of every kind.

ILLINOIS ABOLITIONISTS ARRESTED.

We learn that two men were arrested at Chappel Hill, on Monday, who were Abolitionists, and who said they were from Illinois. They were sent here as secret agents for the purpose of finding out whether the "strong Union party," of which the Lincolnites have heard so much, as still existing in Texas, was really so. They were detected conversing with a negro woman, by a gentleman, who, after they had left, questioned her regarding the conversation, when she told him that they were trying to induce her to leave her master, and go to the North. They were arrested, but vigorously denied the charge of being Abolitionists, and ever holding any conversation with the negro. Their trunks were searched, however, and, lo what a sight! They were filled with "Helper's Impending Crisis"!

Seeing it useless to make any further denial of their true character, they made a clean breast of it, and acknowledged the facts as above stated. They were asked if they had met any Union men in their travels through Texas, to which they answered in the negative—said they had been considerably disappointed. Their object was to get up a rebellion among the slaves. They were escorted to the woods, but we do not know what became of them, though we more than suspect that the Helper doctrine, in their case, at least, has reached "its crisis."—*Hemstead (Texas) Courier, June 26th.*

EXCITING SCENE AT FLUSHING.

The celebration of the Fourth of July at Flushing—a beautiful suburb of New York—gave rise to an unusual and exciting scene. An immense concourse of people assembled in a grove to listen to an oration by Theodore Tilton. The chairman was John H. Lawrence, well known as a prominent Democrat and Bank President in this city. On taking the chair, he made a brief address, preliminary to introducing the orator of the day, in which he went out of his way to utter an invective against men professing anti-slavery opinions; mentioning, with manifest bitterness, a class of persons whom he stigmatized as "misguided abolitionists, fanatics, and agitators."

Mr. Tilton, apparently taking no notice of the gratuitous discourtesy, not to say insult, which had thus been cast upon him in the face of several thousand people, (to whom his anti-slavery opinions must have been well known,) proceeded for a full hour's length in a discussion of various aspects of the present condition of public affairs, when, suddenly turning toward Mr. Lawrence, he said—"I feel bound, in good conscience, before I sit down, to pick up the gauntlet of criticism which you threw at my feet, at the beginning of the hour;" and, immediately quoting Mr. L.'s abuse of the Abolitionists, added—"The shadow which you thus launched from your high chairman's seat upon those men, dropped midway upon *me!* I stand at this moment covered and darkened with it, not only in your presence, but by your hand. And yet, sir, I accepted not unkindly the severest word you spoke, for you honored me only too highly by the unexpected compliment of such reproach. I know of no nobler work for any man, not even, sir, for such a man as you—certainly not for such a man as I—than to give one's hand and heart, and brain to the cause of the poor, the down-trodden and the oppressed. Nor, sir, can you point me, even with your own finger, to any nobler fame in history than that of a man like Wilberforce, who "went up to Heaven bearing 800,000 broken fetters in his hands." So far as your words were a censure only upon *me*, I have forgotten them already; they vanished away like the breath with which they were uttered; but so far as those words brought obloquy upon many better men than I—men of true hearts, of pure lives, of noble aims—men of genius, of learning, of eloquence—nay, sir, men of whom the world is not worthy—I can only say, in reply, Would to God that by taking to myself a share of their reproach, I might win to myself a share of their honor! Tell me, sir, have you ever heard of the legend of St. Humbert? After the good saint had been buried a hundred years, his coffin was opened, and a branch of laurel, that had lain in burial with him all the century, was taken from his ashes in perfect green, unfaded as if newly plucked, fresh as if wet with morning dew! Perhaps, sir, when these men, whom you seek to load with dishonor, shall come to their graves to be buried, their laurels will, in like manner, be buried with them; but I believe the hand of Impartial History, before the end of a hundred years, will reach down gently into their graves, and lift their laurels into resurrection, to bloom green and perennial before all the world!"

At these words, the entire audience rose to their feet, and shouted with spontaneous applause. The chairman also sprang to his feet, and exclaimed—"Since the gentleman has avowed himself an Abolitionist, I must leave the chair"—and immediately quitted it, retiring at once from the platform.

Mr. Tilton said to the audience, "I charge you, good people, to remember, for my sake, that your chairman was exiled from this platform by no word from my lips which ought to have fallen unkindly upon his ear." The applause which followed this statement assured the speaker that he had gained what the chairman had lost, the sympathy of the entire multitude.

But, just at this moment, another episode occurred, which kindled the general feeling into still greater and almost indescribable enthusiasm. Sitting in a carriage near the platform, with his family, was the Hon. Luther C. Carter, ex-member of Congress—a venerable, white-haired man—who, as the audience had thus been deserted by their chairman, stepped gracefully down from his carriage, ascended the steps of the platform, and took his seat in the vacant chair! The outburst of applause at this bit of gallantry was thrilling. The orator, turning to the new presiding officer, bowed and remarked—"I need not say, sir, how I thank you for bringing your gray hairs to lend honor to a young man. I remember how it is written, 'A hoary head is a crown of glory!'" Amid a storm of applauding voices the speaker then turned again toward the audience—the entire multitude of whom were still standing—and seeing that the highest possible climax of the occasion had been reached, drew his oration immediately to a close, adding only a few words prophetic of the reign of universal freedom, and took his seat amid prolonged cheers.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

CAN THE REBELS EVER AGAIN BE TRUSTED?

Under this head, the *Atlantic Monthly* for July very sensibly remarks as to the absurdity of again trusting the treacherous and rebellious South:—

"Take the seceded States upon their own showing, and it is absurd to suppose that they can ever resume their former standing in the nation. Are there any stronger oaths than their generals have broken, any closer ties to honesty than their financiers have spurned, any deeds more damning than their legislatures have voted thanks for? No one supposes that the individual traitors can be restored to confidence, that Twiggs can redye his reputation, or any deep sea-soundings fish up Maury's drowned honor. But the influence of the States is gone with that of their representatives. They may worship the graven image of President Lincoln in Mobile; they may do homage to the ample stuffed regimentals of Gen. Butler in Charleston; but it will not make the nation forget. Could their whole delegation resume its seat in Congress to-morrow, with the three-fifths representation intact, it would not help them. Can we ever trust them to build a ship or construct a rifle again? No time, no formal act, can restore the past relations, so long as slavery shall live. It is easy for the Executive to pardon some convict from the penitentiary; but who can pardon him out of this sterner prison of public distrust which closes its disembodied walls around him, moves with his motions, and never suffers him to walk unconscious of it again? Henceforth, he dwells as under the shadow of swords, and holds intercourse with man only by courtesy, not confidence. And so will they."

HOW THINGS ARE DONE IN GEORGIA AMONG THE NEGROES.

The following is an extract of a business letter lately received in New York city:—

"We are all for the war here, and when the North *subjugates* the South, there will be none left living; our women will fight; all we are sorry for is that your folks don't come along, and give us a chance at them. We will show them that we all have *sand* in our gizzards. I will make out a list of blanks, &c., and send you so soon as I have time. I expect to leave in a few days for Virginia. I take with me three of my negro men, who will die by me. We are raising two regiments of negroes to act as guerrillas in Virginia, and Lincoln's tribe had best keep a good look out, for they swear vengeance against him and his crew; they say Lincoln can't fool them. We hung seven men in this place a few days since, and there are several more to hang. Traitors had better keep away."

Judging from the number of niggers that are daily escaping in Virginia to the United States encampments and to Pennsylvania, Virginia can't be a very eligible State just now to take Georgia niggers to. The two nigger regiments that the Georgia man talks of might take up a quickstep march without waiting for the music, and not halt when ordered.

"We hung seven men in this place a few days since, and there are several more to hang," says the Georgia letter writer. These summary hangings are going on daily throughout all of the seceding States. Men are hung without judge or jury, and with as little ceremony as if they were nothing but so many "blind puppies, fifteen to the litter." And such papers as the Louisville *Courier*, while looking upon these atrocities with complacency and satisfaction, shriek aloud that the laws are outraged and the Constitution subverted, if the officers of the Government presume to enter the house of a notorious Virginia traitor and spy without knocking, and take possession of the written evidences of his treason. —*Louisville Journal.*

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JULY 19, 1861.

DOES THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDE FOR SECESSION?

On the 22d of January, 1833, Mr. Calhoun submitted a series of resolutions to the Senate of the United States, in which he denied that "the people of these United States, taken collectively as individuals, are now, or ever have been, united on the principle of the social compact, and, as such, are now formed into one nation or people, or that they have ever been so united in any one stage of their political existence," asserting that the Union, of which the "constitutional compact is the bond," is "a union *between the States* ratifying the same."

On the 16th of February, Mr. Calhoun spoke in defence of his resolutions, and was replied to by Mr. Webster, not only in accordance with historical verity, but in a manner so masterly and overwhelming as to carry popular enthusiasm to its utmost height.

The object of Mr. Calhoun, in urging his disorganizing doctrine, was Slave Sovereignty under the guise of State Sovereignty. It was not the democratic but the oligarchic principle that he had in view, though he affected to fear the establishment of a consolidated government at Washington as the result of the postulate, that the Union was of the people, by the people, and for the people, and therefore designed to endure to the latest generation.

What are the motives and aims of the Southern Secessionists, in the course they are pursuing, no intelligent person doubts. They seek the extension and perpetuity of chattel slavery on an illimitable scale, and, consequently, the overthrow of all free institutions. The perfidy of which they have been guilty—the numberless outrages they have perpetrated—the enormous thefts and robberies they have committed, without even a blush—these are ineffaceably recorded upon the page of history, and indicate a thoroughly demoralized state of society.

Strange—almost incredible to say, there are some at the North, even in the Anti-Slavery ranks, who, while condemning much that the Secessionists have done, insist upon the right of secession, *ad libitum*, on the part of any and every State! They claim that this is one of those inalienable rights which are set forth as self-evident in the Declaration of Independence, and for the vindication of which its signers pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor!

It seems to us that nothing can be more fallacious than such reasoning; nothing more unjust to the memories of those who framed, and the people who adopted, the existing national government.

Let us turn to the Declaration, and see what ideas they expressed on the subject.

(1) "All men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

(2) "To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

(3) "Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

So far, all who reject the despotic principle are agreed.

Let us next turn to the Constitution of the United States. By whom was it (in popular language) ordained and established? By "the people of the United States"—by one people, not by many—thus absorbing all sectionalism, and providing for no separation. Disclaiming infallibility, they made provision for the amendment of the Constitution, to any extent—at the same time, decreeing it to be the supreme law of the land, any thing in any State Constitution or laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

Whether, therefore, the Secessionists of the South make their appeal to the Constitution or to the Declaration of Independence, they find no warrant for their course, but, on the contrary, the strongest condemnation; for they have no wrongs to show or redress. Every act of theirs has been steeped in villany, and an indignant world will condemn them to everlasting infamy.

"But who are you," it may be retorted upon us, "who are stoutly denying the right of the South to secede from the Union, and yet, for the last twenty years, have been advocating a dissolution of the Union on the part of the North?—branding the Constitution as 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell'!" Our reply is, that the issue we make is a moral one, and based upon eternal justice and the law of the living God; and thus the ground upon which we stand cannot be shaken. For whether the Constitution be of the people, or a compact between the States, its pro-slavery guaranties are inhuman and iniquitous, involving the North in all the guilt of the slave system, and ought to be trampled upon with holy indignation, no matter where such a step may lead, or by what name it may be designated. The highest obedience is due to God; and whatever stands in the way of this is to be met as was the decree of Nebuchadnezzar the king, in regard to his image of gold, by Shadrach, Meschach, and Abed-nego; as was the decree of Darius by Daniel, "that every man that shall ask a petition of any god or man within thirty days, save of the king, shall be cast into the den of lions"; as was the command of Annas the high priest, and his associates, that Peter and John should "not speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus," by those intrepid apostles. Abolition Disunionism is, in spirit and purpose, the exact opposite of Southern Secession—being neither wrong in principle nor perfidious in action, but such as fidelity to the "Higher Law" has called for in all ages of the world against organized unrighteousness. We have counselled no appeal to arms; no seizure of the national property; no overthrow of the existing order of things by a bloody revolution; but only a peaceful repudiation of the "covenant with death," because of its inherent immorality.

Now, then, when the Southern Secessionists can show that they have revolted against the national government on the ground of defending their inalienable rights, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," against a long train of abuses and intolerable oppression, then may they triumphantly appeal to the Declaration of Independence for their defence; or when they can show that they are resisting what they conscientiously believe to be an immoral compact, in the spirit of religious consecration to the God of justice, then—and not till then—may they, and their apologists, claim to find their justification in the ground taken by the American Abolitionists of "No Union with Slaveholders!"

☞ Clarence Butler, Esq., who was recently tarred and feathered at Bastrop, Texas, because he refused to join the ranks of the rebel Secessionists, and narrowly escaped hanging,—the rope having been adjusted round his neck for that purpose,—will deliver two lectures in Allston Hall, in Boston, on Sunday morning and evening next, in which he will trace the history of the Secession Conspiracy through the past six years, and give extended descriptions of Southern life, manners, &c. He is an earnest speaker, a gentleman of education and culture, and a native of England. He will doubtless attract full assemblies.

☞ On Wednesday last was Commencement Day at Cambridge. The exercises throughout were of a very interesting character, and the graduating class acquitted themselves most creditably. The honorary degree of LLD. was conferred upon Gen. Winfield Scott and Gov. John A. Andrew—the announcement being received by the audience with great cheering. The prospects of Harvard are unusually bright.

ENERGETIC THOROUGHNESS vs. COMPROMISE.

After repeated and important successes of the U. S. troops against the rebels in Virginia, the latter, with an impudence not to be paralleled outside the ranks of slavery, sent a flag of truce, asking an armistice of ten days, *in which to make up their minds whether to fight or retreat!* The reply of Gen. Patterson was—"Not a day!"

Whenever negotiation succeeds warfare, in this struggle between the government and the traitors, propositions as absurd and as impudent as the above will be made in behalf of slavery. Oh, that they might meet a negative answer as prompt and decisive as General Patterson's!

The Slave Power loses nothing for want of trying. It steals, without ceremony, what it can lay its hands on. Of things beyond the reach of plunder, it demands, regardless of any limitations of justice. And, when placed in a position which precludes demand, it asks, but asks an amount utterly and preposterously beyond reason. We need Senators, and Representatives, and Cabinet officers, who shall meet each of these, in turn, with the promptness of denial shown by General Patterson. To every deed, word, proposition, or insinuation, coming from the rebels or their sympathizers, urging that, after the war is over, *its cause* be suffered to remain, we ought to hear the instantaneous response, from every person having power in any department of the government—Not a State, not a Territory, of those which have been plundering and outraging the United States, shall again be allowed, standing under our banner, to practise Oligarchy under the guise of Republicanism! Not a fibre of the poisonous root from which this outrageous rebellion has grown must remain to prepare a new growth of corruption and disorder for our children! Since those States (impoverished by their adherence to slavery even before the beginning of the war) *cannot* give indemnity for the past, let them, at the very least, give *security for the future* by the utter abolition of slavery, each throughout its own boundaries, before again being admitted to the exercise of their forfeited privileges!

In former years, we were pleased, as a child with a rattle, by the sound of that euphonious sentence of the United States Constitution which declares—"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." A sad experience has taught us that this ambiguous sentence is the defence, not of freedom, but of slavery! That its actual operation, to the citizen of Massachusetts, has been, that if he sends a ship to Charleston or Savannah, he shall be entitled to the privilege of having his colored seaman or steward seized and thrust into jail without pretence of crime, and be further entitled to the immunity of losing his labor and paying his jail-fees! Or that, if he himself travels to either of those cities, he may be entitled to the privilege and immunity of *not* getting his *Liberator* or his *Tribune* through the post-office! of *not* lending his copy of Helper's Impending Crisis to the friend whom he judges to be most in need of it! and of *not* practising the most obvious duty of humanity in aid of a suffering brother who asks it of him! It is time that this 1st paragraph of the 2d section of the 3d Article of the Constitution should be made clearly to say, and incontrovertibly to mean, that no right, or immunity, or privilege, belonging to humanity, justice or righteousness, and thus *justly* enjoyed in a man's own State, shall be withheld from him in any other! It is time that the man who prizes freedom for himself, and wishes it extended to others, should be able to act in conformity with those beneficent ideas in every portion of the country that he calls *his* country! And it is time that the skill of lawyers and Congressmen should be used to maintain and enlarge *this* liberty, rather than that mis-named liberty which claims the right to enslave.

President Lincoln, in defence of right and justice, stretched his newly acquired power a little beyond its technical limits. That part of the nation which still remains loyal honors him therefor, and Congress hastens to confirm his acts and approve his boldness. If Governor Andrew had shown equal zeal when freedom of speech was trodden down in Boston at the commencement of his term of office—if, on the right side, he had ventured to "take the responsibility" to half the extent that others are constantly taking it on the wrong side—or if, when debarred by technicalities from giving his "protection" to the right, he had manfully stepped forward to give it his "countenance"—he would have entitled himself, far more than now, to the honor and reverence of posterity. But the crisis of the struggle for freedom is yet to come; every official servant of the public will yet have the power greatly to help, or greatly to hinder, the success of the right; and every lover of liberty should watch the movements of those public servants, seeking to provide, first, that freedom and justice receive no detriment, and next, that when these shall be victorious, the guardianship of them be not again committed to hands already found unfaithful.—C. K. W.

THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF THE TIMES.

Worcester, July 11, 1861.

I sometimes wish there were no such thing as logic. It has been the source of endless wranglings in the world, of dissensions, and implacable hatred throughout Christendom, without ever settling a principle for either. Never did I attempt an argument upon any subject that one of apparently equal force did not rise up on the other side, leaving me to retire in confusion confounded, were it not for the decision previously made by my moral sense. This will doubtless prove true of the world in general, and explains why the masses, who can readily perceive a truth, fail to sustain it on its merits alone.

Take the question of war, for example. The instincts of the whole civilized world, from Wm. Lloyd Garrison to Gen. Scott, condemn it as an unnatural and barbarous institution. The only difference between them is, that one makes this moral instinct the supreme controlling power, while the other loses sight of it in the various subtleties and perplexities the intellect suggests. So of slavery. The characteristic feature of the Abolitionists, which distinguishes them from all other bodies is, that it subjects every man and institution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, to this simple test: Is slavery right, or is it wrong?

No matter how many arguments we may adduce to show that the path backward to hell through secession lies by the same route as the way forward to heaven through disunion, we cannot get rid of the simple fact, that one means freedom, and the other slavery; and every force brought to bear upon either cannot detract from the virtue of the one or diminish the guilt of the other. I cannot see a particle of analogy between them. Starting from a moral stand-point, it is impossible. Truth acts and suffers; it does not usurp and resort to arms. The theory of Disunion I suppose to be, either to avail itself of that loop-hole of the law which absolves one party from the obligations of a compact when the other violates it; or, by meeting in convention, to assert, according to the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence, that this government had failed of the end for which it was instituted. It never proposed first to plunder the government, then to rebel against it, and finally submit it by sending commissioners to Washington, after it had forfeited every claim of honor and respect.

Waiving here all discussion of the coercive policy, it is self-evident to everybody, that whatever the South may have said or done, she never meant to secede. It was only a pretext, under cover of which she was aiming at the control of the whole nation, to plant the Palmetto on Bunker Hill, and compel every Northern freeman to fall down and cry out, Great is Slavery, god of the South! In the face of the circumstances, whatever may be our own individual opinions, if Abraham Lincoln had done other than he has, he would have received, as he would have deserved, the execration of mankind for being himself a traitor to the government as well as an enemy to liberty.

Logic is an indispensable element, a sublime function of the human intellect, when confined to its appropriate sphere; a subordinate to the moral perceptions, instead of being suffered to lead them, and does not make us forget the essence in the eagerness to carry out details. Events speak louder than words. We had a right to look to Henry Ward Beecher as the savior of Orthodoxy. His noble impulses, generous sympathies, and the little value he attached to creeds, seemed to point him out as one who would rescue oppressed humanity every where from the tyranny of sect or party, when, lo! a Dr. Cheever, representing the core of the Orthodox Church, without a particle of radicalism in his nature, rises to heaven on the wings of impartial justice as he applies his doctrine of salvation and damnation to slaveholders in common with other sinners, leaving Beecher to grope his way as best he can out of the deplorable labyrinth in which he seeks to atone for suppressing slave insurrections by refusing to serve as "nigger-catcher," if they should chance to get away.

The people meant no good to freedom when they dropped Seward for Lincoln, but the act may prove the salvation of the nation. The world sometimes blunders into a truth, and it is better to accept it with thanksgiving than to condemn it because it was not done intentionally and symmetrically.

I cannot see the justice, policy, or propriety of Mr. Foster, in improving the opportunity, every time we hold an anti-slavery meeting, to call Lincoln a slave-catcher. The circumstances that justified it six months ago do not now exist. We never supposed he would act in that capacity from the mere love of the thing, but because he supposed his obligations to the Constitution were greater than his obligations to God. He was elected President of the United States, pledged to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, and he lost no opportunity to make assurance doubly sure on that point. But he has never been President of the United States. The Republicans were not permitted this last grand halo with which they expected to encircle the closing act of the drama to circumvent the wisdom of the Almighty.

He is the executive only of the will of those States that acknowledge his sovereignty. It is true he talks about preserving the Union and securing to all the States the rights guaranteed by the Constitution, but that question has passed beyond his control, and a mightier than he is shaping his policy. He now represents the government, and that, in times of revolution, never represents the people. Circumstances have conspired to place him in a position never vouchsafed to his predecessors. The world is waiting with breathless interest to crown him with a greater wreath of laurels than ever graced the brow of Washington, the moment he shall lift four million chattels to the dignity of God's own freemen. If, as time rolls on, he shall be so blind to his own interest as to ignore this, "our withers are yet unwrung." But emancipation may come in a very different manner from what we think.

Convictions cannot be forced on any one, they must come naturally. It seems to me, Mr. Foster would adopt a much wiser method if he would hold meetings of his own, and summon the tens of thousands who, he says, believe with him; when, if they are in the right, they would very soon swallow us up. It is inconsistent for him, who long ago announced his intention to secede from us, to make us the mouthpiece of his own peculiar views.

I have heard a great deal of our commercial wealth, but was not aware we had such a surplus of moral wealth that we could afford to export any of it out of the country, until so informed by a motion to that effect in the *Liberator*. Nothing for Wendell Phillips to do here now?—then we'll set him up in Tremont Temple, a silent counteracting influence, so long as Joseph M. Wightman is Mayor of Boston.

Important as it is that the British masses should be kept right, it is far more important that our own masses should be kept where they ought to be. England will come round right, if we do our duty. If we take care of the slave, God will take care of us. Neglecting that, no power on earth can save us. It is a question of moral strength on our own soil. It would be well for us, as a nation, to pause before censuring her because she does not at once perceive the moral issues involved in the contest, when it took the cannon-shot of Fort Sumter to tear the bandages from our own eyes, and teach us that there is something higher than the cotton interest. S. E. W.

A MOVING SERMON.

Framingham Centre.

Friend Garrison—Let me chronicle a little episode in my ministry, which took place at Framingham, the Sabbath previous to our glorious gathering on the 4th, in Harmony Grove, at the south part of this pleasant town. On the day mentioned, I consummated an exchange with Rev. S. D. Robbins, and occupied the Unitarian pulpit. In the morning, my theme was founded on Acts 26: 28—"The Christian character and claims." Every thing passed off pleasantly and acceptable.

At the afternoon service, matters somewhat changed. I had made some preparation, with a few notes, to speak on the "Worth and extent of Christian liberty." My text was 2d Cor., 3: 17: "For where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." I spent some twenty minutes in the consideration of our right, as Protestants, to worship God in the form, manner and name we pleased. This was general, and, of course, created no dissent. I then remarked that it was my purpose to discuss matters of a *national* bearing—the worth of liberty, applied to man as man, the wide world over. I took up the sad condition of our country—the civil war—and remarked that the flag, once ignominious to the lover of universal freedom, and which had been cast out by the South, was to be redeemed and made glorious in waving over four million slaves. At this point, I noticed a movement in some of the pews, and heard the muttering of a voice. I had touched forbidden ground, and was unconsciously—for which fact I am glad—disturbing gentlemen of the Bell-Everett party. One of these rose, took his hat in great indignation, and made a stampede for the door. In his haste, he forgot to take the lady by his side; so he returned, and being a man of authority, he promptly bade her follow. Some eight or ten others followed the example of this "gentleman of property and standing." I then remarked that this, to me, was rather novel; that if I were preaching to an *evangelical* congregation, so called, I could better understand this. But I was addressing Unitarians, who professed to believe in the Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man—people who, I trusted, revered the name of Channing, whose last labor on earth was a prayer for the suffering slave. Could they not bear an application of their own principles? But, however, I remarked, you have the same liberty to retire that I have to speak; hence, I wish that all who do not wish to hear me through will take this opportunity to leave. I waited a moment, and some two or three more left, and I continued and finished my discourse. I congratulated myself that I had preached, for once, a *moving* sermon, and that Framingham Centre, the stronghold of Hunkerism, dull and dead to Anti-Slavery, had been troubled in the right direction. So I thanked God, and took courage.

Wendell Phillips once said, that a good anti-slavery speech in Framingham would be to the churches there like an earthquake. From my experience, as here recorded, I think "One lesson of the hour," from the eloquent lips of Mr. Phillips, would make the remark of the Hibernian prove true, that "great was the earthquake, considering the size of the place."

But we will rejoice that we have a Mecca in that beautiful Grove, to which we repair so joyfully on each returning fourth of July. And when the year of jubilee to the slave comes, none, perhaps, will be more exultant than those who have ministered at the altar where Christ's little ones have been despised, and they could not, or dare not, rebuke the wrong.

"God of the poor and friendless,
Shall this unequalled wrong,
This agony be endless?
How long, oh Lord, how long!
Shall man set on his brother
The iron heel of sin,
The Holy Ghost to smother,
And crush the God within?" G. W. S.

DUTY OF ABOLITIONISTS.

Boston, July 12, 1861.

Dear Sir,—I am fresh from the reading of the soul-stirring speeches made by Mr. Phillips and yourself, at Harmony Grove, on the 4th inst. They have the true ring and spirit—they compass the whole question of the war, and the only rational object it can possibly effect. I write this in my capacity simply as a man and citizen, that I may, in short compass, convey to you the impression which your late meeting made on my mind; expressing the hope that the Society will adopt means to touch and quicken the public mind, at this momentous juncture, to a sense of grave responsibility for this crime of slavery, and, as Mr. Phillips says, in spite of parchments and red-tape, bring it up to a level where it can see, as by noon-day, the *cause* of our woes, to be coupled with a mighty determination to end the war, only by liberating the slave; or, at least, to make it a far-beginning of the end. If the Abolitionists can thus make themselves instrumental in doing something towards this much-desired end, we may hope to see the dawn of a brighter day, fraught with hope and blessing, not only to the slave, but to humanity.

To an impartial observer, the government looks beclouded, purposeless; it wants direction out of the great head and heart of the people. The real meaning of the people, as it lies half conscious, half-uttered, needs to be written in characters of fire over the dome of the capitol, that the "powers that be" may comprehend their mission. The Abolitionist knows his function. I have been satisfied, for some time, that the people must push the government hard, or blood and treasure will be spent in vain. Pray, circulate the documents! Would to God I had a pocket co-extensive with my wishes! How I should like to help you, by way of funds! But I am powerless, like many others these times, of all save sympathy.

One thing more, which it did my soul good to read in your speech, viz.: that emancipation means a great good to the white people of the South. I have never seen this thought so happily enunciated. It should be amplified, and made prominent in every possible way. Love, broad charity for *all*, should give the tone to all abolition speech, and Southern men will see, ere long, that the Northern Abolitionist is really his fastest friend.

I must tell you that a young man came in while I was reading this part of your speech. I seized the occasion to read it to him. It was evidently a new thought to him. I watched the expression of his face, as he attentively listened. An involuntary "Good!" crowned the conclusion of almost every sentence; and when I ended, he said with some surprise, "I want to know if Mr. Garrison talks in that fashion?" I soon found that what he knew of Abolitionists arose through the prejudiced channels everywhere around us. Let us take these young men by the hand, and kindly show them the truth which they have not been permitted to see. Hundreds of thousands, whose attention has been heretofore engrossed with other matters, only need to be met aright, in the present comparative leisure, to be made as marked objects of political grace as even the conservative Everett.

Excuse me for this scrawl. I felt that a word from one, belonging to the rank and file, might even be of use to yourself, by way of showing you that we are waiting for instruction. I have felt the pulse in my own limited circle. There is fire there. It only needs the abolition bellows to blow it into flame.

Yours, sincerely yours, F. J. W.

HAYTIEN EMIGRATION.

The writer knows no question so puzzling to Abolitionists, at this time, as the plan of Haytien emigration.

Except for a brief period of very angry and personal controversy in the *Anglo-African*, there has been little earnest discussion of the subject in the newspapers; and while the *Pine and Palm* presents earnestly the affirmative side of the argument, I have seen no able and candid statement of the negative.

I attach no importance to the flying reports as to the discontent of emigrants. As well as I can judge, the liberal promises of the Haytien Government have been thus far fulfilled, and the machinery of emigration has been remarkably well manged. The whole thing is in the hands of men who sincerely believe in it, not of speculators or politicians, and the experiment will be fairly tried. Will it result for good or evil? is the question.

On the one side, there is the advantage which may inure to the emigrants themselves;—the enlargement of mind to all the colored people from the opening of this new subject of interest and action (just as California has enlarged the horizon of all white Americans); and the grand idea of a powerful African nationality. These are good results which are possible, if not probable.

On the other hand, there are two bad results of the whole scheme which are *certainties*, and which may or may not outweigh all this good.

1. Wherever the emigration excitement goes, it is breaking up, root and branch, all the home-plans and ambitions of the best portion of our colored people,—transferring their aspirations to a different region, and making them regard their life here as merely a necessary evil, to be endured till they get to Hayti. It is thus sweeping off precisely those men and women who were before doing the most to win for their race an honorable position in this community. Now they have, almost instantaneously, given up all hope of that, and thus are helping to weaken and discourage all the rest.

2. In the same way, wherever the emigration project is talked of among whites, it is reviving the old Colonization theory of despair; men fall back on the notion that the prejudice of color is insuperable, and there must be a separation. Pro-slavery or anti-slavery, the same is the effect; and it is certainly very unfortunate. "After all, it is a failure—it is hopless; let us send them to Hayti."

And, be it observed, these bad results are out of all proportion to the actual *extent* of the emigration. It is the mere agitation of the subject, in any community, which does the mischief. Let one family go, and it seems to infect all the rest with the desire to go,—while the whites immediately begin to fancy that it would be very convenient to have them go.

I have always believed that the only way to conquer the prejudice against color was to recognize the actual fact, that the association is inevitable. When Frederick Douglass said of colonization, "We have considered that matter, and decided not to go," it was worth whole volumes of argument. "What can't be cured must be endured"; but the moment you open a new plan of cure, however fallacious, the endurance is apt to vanish. I admit that the emigration looks alluring, but the injury done is a certainty;—and suppose that the hope of good turns out a fallacy—what then?

T. W. H.

Worcester, July 14, 1861.

☞ "The Lesson of St. Domingo." A very interesting historical communication may be found in another page from a Haytian gentleman of fine culture and polished manners—A. Tate, Captaine de la Garde de S. E. le President d'Haiti—with reference to the bloody struggles between Liberty and Slavery in St. Domingo. Capt. Tate converses easily and fluently in English, as well as in French and Spanish, possesses admirable qualities of mind, and cannot fail to make his sojourn here highly serviceable to the cause of freedom and humanity.

THE CONTRABAND OF WAR DOCTRINE.

Wayland, July 6, 1861.

Dear Garrison,—I sent you sometime back an amended copy of an article, exposing in the first place the imposition practised upon the people by the supposititious and absurd doctrine set up by Butler and half countenanced by the administration, touching contraband of war. On the part of the former, who is supremely selfish and totally depraved, and so, well prepared to aspire to the first place in such a Republic, it is a tub thrown to the whale, to divert from his craft the threshing and flouncing provoked by his inhuman, unmilitary and demagogical spread about lending the Massachusetts troops to cut the throats of our friends, and the enemies of our enemies in this war. On the part of the administration, it is a shuffling and discreditable expedient to stave off the only question of any real importance involved in this mighty and unexampled moral quaking. They do not indorse the doctrine; on the contrary, they give directions which imply repudiation of it, inasmuch as those directions are incompatible with the legal consequences of contraband of war; yet they intimate an approval of the *action* of their subordinate. On the other hand, other subordinates, at other posts and camps, are pursuing a course directly opposite, and soldiers, here and there, without question or reference to or from any quarter, are taking their own more rational, more legal and manly way.

There is no consistency, dignity, justice or decency in the conduct of any of the authorities on this vital subject. The aim of the article to which I have referred is to place it on a true, intelligible and broad foundation, just to the slave, just to the noble spirit of the people and the armies, and not ridiculous in the eyes of Europe. Instead of leaving it to the self-interest, the caprice, the prejudice, or the politics of the possible generals, colonels, captains and lieutenants that may turn up, I make it a matter of settled and universal law and unquestionable right, *under the rules of war*, on the part of the slave, and imperative duty, and indispensable legal obligation on ours.

It is not in respect to slaves only, but also to all the interests affected by the struggle, that the miserable humbug of contraband is working wrong and injury. It is applied with equal looseness and ignorance, or insidiousness and treachery, to trade and intercourse with the enemy. If it be understood that certain articles are contraband of war, it is equally understood that all others are not so, and that continued commerce with the enemy in them is lawful; whereas, by law, no commerce, intercourse, contract or correspondence with a public and national enemy is permitted. But for this shallow and bloody delusion, the traitors could not, in all probability, have kept a formidable army in the field for a single month. Why, the great West, through the Mississippi, and latterly through *neutral*, compromising, contemptible Kentucky, has been supplying the food and whisky, not only of the army, but of a very large portion of both masters and slaves (bating the whisky) for three months! Nothing can be more mad and demoralizing than this supplying strength and energy to traitors for cutting our throats!

Ever yours most truly, D. L. CHILD.

A PIRATICAL SEIZURE.

Newburyport, July 14, 1861.

Dear Friend—I suppose you have seen by the papers, the account of the capture of the schooner Enchantress, of this city. She was owned by Messrs. Benj. Davis, Atkinson Stanwood, John T. Page, E. Manson, E. M. Reed, R. Plumer, E. Evans, J. B. and W. J. Cresy. She was built on our river, of 160 tons burthen, and as good a vessel as ever sailed from this port. Captain Devereux, the commander, is a very capable man—one in whom the owners have entire confidence. She left Boston, bound to St. Jago, and when 150 miles south of Nantucket Shoals, while on his course, came in sight of what he supposed was a French brig, with French colors. From his appearance, Capt. D. supposed he was bound in to New York. As he came along very near to make inquiries, Capt. D. chalked on his quarter what he supposed this Frenchman wanted to ascertain—viz: the longitude. When near enough to throw a biscuit on board, up jumped some one hundred men—the "long-tom" was uncovered—ports were opened—and down came the French flag, and up went the Confederate! As the Enchantress was unarmed, and had a crew of only eight men and boys, what else could the captain do but submit to the one hundred, all armed, and ready for a fight? The E. was a clipper, and the fastest sailer in the States; and, with the least suspicion on the part of the Captain, could easily have sailed the piratical craft out of sight.

Well, what else can we expect? The new Southern Confederacy is founded on the doctrine, that one man has a right to own another; and that being conceded, I do not see that they are any worse for stealing schooners than for stealing men.

The worst thing of the whole is this:—They took the poor fellow who was cook, (a colored man,) and sent him, with two others they took from the other vessels, in the Enchantress, south—to sell into hopeless bondage.

I find nine-tenths of all the people are in favor of the government giving liberty to the bondman, in order to have this disturbing element of slavery settled. But we have a few here, who are with the South: they are descendants of traitors, who furnished the British with aid and comfort, and to-day would aid the South to defeat the North, if they were not afraid of their heads. This conflict will never be settled unless we "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." If we can do that, it would be a good investment, in a money-point of view, if from no higher motive: for in ten years, the benefits of free labor would be so apparent, that all would rejoice. That day is coming. When the war began, I did not think it possible for the slave to be released; but as these rebels are so smart in their devilry, government, in self-defence, may yet heed the voice, "Let my people go, that they may serve me."

Last Sunday, on board this piratical privateer, religious (!) services were held! The Episcopal service was read by the purser, who prayed that God would bless Jeff. Davis and the Southern Confederacy, and prosper them; and that Lincoln and the North might be brought to confusion and shame! Before night, they took a prize—vessel and cargo worth $63,000; and thought God had wonderfully prospered them!

I have increasing faith that our government will cut short its work in righteousness, and we shall yet be a free and happy people.

Yours, truly, LIBERTY.

☞ We regret to perceive that among the sufferers by this capture are our anti-slavery friends Plumer, Stanwood and Page. The same piratical craft that seized the Enchantress took some half a dozen other vessels the same day, and will doubtless imperil the safety of many others. Several vessels, armed for the purpose, have been promply sent out to capture her, if possible.

☞ The Boston Directory, for 1861, has been issued by Adams, Sampson & Co., with their usual punctuality and their usual accuracy. The size of this useful work has necessarily increased year by year, and it now forms an octavo of 700 pages, stuffed as full of valuable information as that space will allow. About 12,000 names have been erased from last year's record, and about 16,000 added; the number of other changes of all sorts in the volume amounts to over 10,000. The "Business Directory" gives a careful classification of arts, trades, professions and employments, showing you at a glance who keeps what things, and where; and to this is added a variety of valuable and interesting information respecting Boston institutions and "notions."

Adams, Sampson & Co. publish Directories of fourteen cities, and keep at their office, (91 Washington street,) all the Directories published in the United States. And they courteously invite all persons to call who are seeking information in their department.

THE LESSON OF ST. DOMINGO.

I have just seen a small pamphlet, which was first published in the columns of the New York *Daily Tribune*, styled—

"THE LESSON OF ST. DOMINGO—HOW TO MAKE THE WAR SHORT, AND THE PEACE RIGHTEOUS."

The title attracted my attention, and I read the contents eagerly. The History of Hayti, so replete with useful instruction to countries wherein slavery still protracts its horrors, is, unhappily, too little known by Americans. The author of the article in question is one of those publicists, so rare in this country, who appear to have attentively investigated the subject. His thoughtful language denotes that he has pondered deeply over the bloody catastrophes of that terrible history. The parallel which he establishes between the actual situation of the United States, and that in which Saint Domingo found itself when the war of independence broke forth, is, unfortunately, too just. The lesson which he deduces from it may be of no small importance to the destinies of this great republic. You that have read, reflect! for, in history, as in physics, like causes produce like effects.

But, in the hasty enumeration which he makes of the different events which signalize that period of strife, bloody but glorious for Saint Domingo, the author has, I believe unintentionally, reproduced certain false statements invented by the hellish malignity of the colonists, primarily for the culpable and sacrilegious purpose of sowing discord and distrust between the men of color and the blacks, in order the more easily to accomplish their subjugation. These malicious and lying assertions have since been completely refuted by history, and contradicted by facts. It would be hardly necessary to refute them here, were it not that it may perhaps be of service to those who may have read the article to which I refer, not being at all familiar with the history of St. Domingo, or Hayti, to have those errors corrected.

I. The author of the article says, speaking of the taking up of arms by Ogé—"He put himself at the head of two or three hundred of his class in arms, and made a modest demand upon the planter's assembly of the North, for the legal rights of his class. In this address, he took care to say: 'I shall not have recourse to any rising of the slave gangs. I never comprehended, in my claims, the negroes in a state of slavery,' &c."

II. Further on, in narrating briefly the events which attended the famous insurrection of blacks under the lead of Jeannot, Jn. Francois and Biasson, he adds: "All classes of whites and *mulattoes* joined in suppressing this insurrection, and pushed their advantage of science and arms so far that they overdid it. By their wholesale slaughter of slaves who had no part in the conspiracy, they widely roused the black population in all quarters, and pressed thousands of them to fly to the mountains, where they were organized in bands under Jn. Francois, Biasson, and other chiefs, who soon learned how to direct their energies efficiently."

Now, listen! It is very erroneous to suppose that, in a slaveholding state of society, where the free men of color, all of slave origin, among whom could be found many Africans "*who were not more contemned by the whites than were the lightest mulattoes*," and where "*the prejudice against color seemed to have a strength inversely proportionate to the difference of color between the parties*,"—it is erroneous, I say, to suppose that those men, who, although free, suffered, on account of their extraction, humiliations, persecutions, ofttimes worse than the tortures of slavery itself, could ever have imagined, for a single moment, that their cause was distinct from that of the enslaved blacks. Let it be well understood, that at no time and no where, in regard to this question of negro slavery, have the mulattoes and free blacks failed to recognize the cause of the black and mulatto slaves as completely identified with *their own*. That hideous distinction which the colonists of St. Domingo were compelled to establish, in order to fortify and maintain slavery in the colonies, ran counter to the natural good sense of the people, both black and yellow, whose perpetual enslavement was desired, but whom interest and instinct naturally induced to unite, on the first favorable occasion, against the colonists, their common foes. For the rest, there is no doubt that the future of the United States will verify that which the past of Saint Domingo (1) has proven.

It is true that Ogé, compelled to resort to arms in order to rescue himself from the unjust persecutions with which he was struggling, did not contemplate an immediate and sudden emancipation of the slaves; nevertheless, his noble heart never ceased to sympathize with their condition, and, by laboring to obtain perfect equality, just and natural, among *all free men* of the colony, (blacks, whites and yellows,) he hoped, by so doing, to prepare the way for that great work of humanity and justice, the object of his passion and of his most ardent vows. These sentiments of Ogé were too openly avowed to be justly denied to him. It was by his efforts and initiative, aided by Jules Raymond, a mulatto, that the Argenson Club was organized at Paris in 1789, under the presidency of Mr. Jolly, a distinguished philanthropist, to plead also the cause of the negroes before that French nation, which had just risen to bring to trial both peoples and kings. The Club, at its meetings of the 3d, 8th, 12th and 22d of September, 1789, drew up a memorial of grievances of the men of color and free blacks, and demanded of the National Assembly the extinction of those odious prejudices against color, by proclaiming that there could be but two classes of men in the colonies: that of freemen, and that of men living in a state of servitude. At the same time, *the memorial proposed a plan for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, and the gradual abolition of slavery.* (2) But even before this memorial was actually drawn up, when Ogé, conscious of his rights, dared to present himself alone, on the 7th of September, 1789, before the Massiac Club, composed of colonists, his enemies, to discuss with them the cause of his brethren, in an impassioned discourse which he delivered, he hurled into their midst, like a cry of his soul, the memorable speech which had a prolonged echo, reaching as far as the mountain of Saint Domingo. "But, gentlemen," said he, "in speaking of liberty,—that word liberty which we do not pronounce without enthusiasm, that word which carries with it the idea of happiness, were it merely because it seems to make us forget the evils which we have suffered for centuries,—this liberty, *the greatest, the chief of blessings*, is it intended for all men? *I think so.* Ought it to be given to all men? *I believe this also.*" (3) But, as if to reassure the colonists, frightened by his audacious conceptions, Ogé, whose generous and chivalric soul demanded justice for his brethren, and not the blood of their enemies, added later, on another occasion, the words which have been quoted in these columns: "I shall not have recourse to any raising of the slave gangs." Because Ogé, who had associated intimately at Paris with Robespierre, Brissot, Gregoire and La Fayette, and had drank with them from the same cup of liberty, trusting to the principles of justice and of equality just proclaimed in France, hoped to attain the realization of his wishes without shock and without violence, by the force of justice and reason alone. So, when compelled to oppose force to force for his personal protection, Chavannes, his friend, a mulatto, one of those valorous Haytians who voluntarily received the baptism of the fire of battle at Savannah, fighting under Count d'Estaing for American liberty, proposed to him to raise the slaves, to proclaim universal liberty, and thus at one blow to annihilate colonial pride, Ogé recoiled before the blood and horrors which such an uprising presented to his mind. (1) He ardently desired liberty for all, but conscientious, matured liberty, acquired peaceably by the law of justice. A liberty bloody and terrible, born amid fearful rendings of society and upon the smoking ruins of the colony, such as it was sometime after, was repugnant to his humane and generous heart.

Garran Coulon, sent to Saint Domingo by the National Convention of France to make a report concerning the troubles in that colony, and who is certainly a competent authority in the matter, says, in speaking of Ogé—"Finally, after having reproached him during his life with having wished to raise the slaves, they (the colonists) have made it a crime that he should have written that he did not desire to arm them against the whites. It is true that Ogé thought in 1790, with the prominent philanthropists, and the *friends of the blacks* themselves, that liberty could not be given to the slaves *all at once*. He did not believe that the attempt was then practicable; and it required the whole extent of our revolution, before that great act of natural justice could be promptly effected,—so difficult it is to destroy the most horrible iniquities after they have become rooted in society. But Ogé was far from despising the rights of the negroes, or desiring, like the two colonial assemblies, that their perpetual bondage should be the basis of the colonial constitution. He had perceived the necessity of ameliorating their condition in the memorial which he had the imprudence to present to the club Massiac." (2)

And Southonax himself, whose unjust prejudice against the free men of color of St. Domingo (the former emancipated slaves) signalized particularly his last mission to that colony—a prejudice unworthy his enthusiastic and liberal heart, accounted for only by his inconsistent character, and which Victor Schœlcher, and others after him, believe that they ought to espouse, without well knowing why—Southonax, I say, who was proud to have been the first to proclaim universal liberty to the slaves of St. Domingo or Hayti, acknowledged, notwithstanding, that the young martyr Ogé "*died for the liberty of his brethren*," (the men of color,) "*and even for the liberty of the blacks.*" (3)

The remarks which we here make, concerning this young hero, apply to all the men of color of that period.

After the terrible punishment which Ogé and Chavannes were made to undergo in the city of the Cape, for having dared to assert the rights of their brethren, yet we see the men of color sending commissioners to Paris to demand these same rights before the National Assembly of France; and in the petition which they addressed to that assembly in May, 1791, page 7th, they say: "The citizens of color behold with anguish the sad condition of the enslaved blacks; but they perceive, with you, the necessity of not precipitating any innovation in their behalf. You will behold them, since, like the whites, they are unfortunately the possessors of slaves, you will behold them the first to concur in all the methods which your wisdom and humanity may dictate for the amelioration of their condition, *whilst you are preparing to break their fetters.*"

All this, and still other facts, appear to me a sufficient reply to the erroneous assertion made by Mr. Elizur Wright, doubtless through misinformation, "that the mulattoes of St. Domingo claimed the right of property in negroes, and joined the whites to fight them, and keep them enslaved," &c.

So much for the philosophy of the men of color: now let us examine their practice.

The horrible punishment inflicted on Ogé and his associates in Hayti did not, however, retard in France the progress and triumph of the Revolution. Two decrees, establishing the political equality of colored men, were made on the 13th and 15th of May, 1791, by the National Assembly. But the whites of St. Domingo, on the receipt of the intelligence, exhibited the most violent indignation. A thunderbolt, says P. de Lacroix, could not have produced a more sudden explosion than that which this intelligence produced in St. Domingo. All the parishes protested against the execution of that decree of the 15th May, and the colonists swore that they would perish beneath the heaped up ruins of their property, rather than submit to such an infringement of their rights. (4)

The men of color, however, who, since the sad and cruel death of Ogé and his companions were thought to be overwhelmed by fear, were, on the contrary, only the more firmly resolved to enjoy the liberty and equality which the legislation of France had granted them, or die. (5) The assassination of Lacombe, the murder of Ferrand de Baudieres, and that barbarous execution of Ogé, to which the article of Mr. Wright alludes, had only excited in them a justifiable hatred against the whites, whose privileges and pride they were resolved to crush down. (6)

The dissension which arose on account of the animosity cherished on both sides—between the representatives of France, or the revolutionists charged with the execution of the liberal enactments of the National Assembly, and the colonists opposed to the execution of laws which, they said, violated their privileges—between the great planters and the petty whites—appeared to present a favorable opportunity for the men of color to rise, and shake off the yoke under which they were oppressed. (7) In the months of June and July, 1791, several insurrectionary movements occurred in the South and West, at the instigation of the men of color, who shortly before were assembled at Mirebalais, in order to decide upon the means to be used to vindicate their rights. Finally, on the 21st of August, the very night prior to the rising of the blacks in the North, a formidable insurrection of the men of color burst forth in the neighborhood of Port-au-Prince, under the lead of Lambert, a free black, and Bauvais, a mulatto; another, again, who had distinguished himself under Count d'Estaing in the American Revolutionary War. Nearly at the same time, Jourdain at Petit-Trou, and Guilloux at l'Arcahaye, took up arms, also at the head of men of color, for the purpose of obtaining their rights. (8)

But in the North, more directly under the eyes and within the control of the colonial authority which was there concentrated, the men of color did not dare avow, or could not manifest, their opposition as openly as those of the South and West had done. Meanwhile, although their apparent conduct might not indicate any hostility, their departure from the cities, under pretence of escaping the jealous hatred of the whites, (9) could not have been, likely, without influence upon the formidable insurrection of the blacks which almost immediately broke forth there. However, when that insurrection broke out, the revolutionary party (then the *unionists*) charged the conspiracy to the colonists, (then the *secessionists*,) whom they accused of wishing by these means to frustrate, in the colony, the liberal changes which France had just instituted; and the colonists, on the other hand, attributed it to the revolutionists, whom they suspected of complicity with the blacks, for the purpose of destroying their authority and prestige in St. Domingo, (10) just as it has happened now, that the South, charging the whole North with abolition designs for having appointed a Republican President, have thought it best to secede from the American Union.

Mr. Beaubrun Ardouin, with that analytical ability which distinguishes him preëminently from all other writers who have studied the History of Hayti, enters at full length, in the first volume of his Disquisitions, at the 6th chapter, into an enumeration of the various causes which are supposed to have led to that insurrection. At any rate, when the blaze of conflagration, and the cries of unfortunate wretches perishing amid avenging flames kindled by the slaves, had given the signal, that same night, the 22d of August, 1791, Candy, a free man of color, took up arms also in the environs of Ouanaminthe, at the head of a large number of his own class, among whom were many outlawed for complicity in the affair of Ogé, and came to rally around the standard of the leader, Jean François, for *the common cause.* (1)

These black leaders, in the delirium of their hate and the drunkenness of avenging passion, marched through the scenes of devastation and carnage, under the bloody oriflamme which they had raised—the dead body of a white infant on the end of a pike—to the very walls of Cape Haytien. Then the horrified whites, accusing the peaceable and inoffensive mulattoes who had not left the town with having instigated this revolt, commenced to massacre them without pity. Women, children, old men, all fell beneath their assassin blows. Those who succeeded in escaping that horrid butchery fled for refuge to the church, where the Colonial Assembly then seemed willing to take them under its protection, *on the condition that they would assist the whites to put down the insurrection of the slaves.* Between the certainty of a cold-blooded assassination, if they refused, and the chance of living to revenge themselves some day if they appeared to accept the proposition of the whites to aid them in fighting the insurgents, these unfortunate, defenceless men, at the mercy of their enemies, did not hesitate. (2) Very soon, the insurrection being more and more suppressed, shut up in the plains of the North, weakened by want of discipline and the anarchy which prevailed among the leaders of the blacks, the whites found themselves masters of the situation. It was not enough to have armed the free men of color of the Cape against their enslaved brethren; the Colonial Government desired to make it a general rule, in order, doubtless, to find a pretext to institute throughout the island, against those who would not submit, the same persecutions and massacres that those at the Cape had suffered.

A decree of the 5th November, 1791, in reference to them, specifies, at Art. 2: "That *men of color and free negroes* shall be obliged to coöperate with the white citizens in reëstablishing order and peace in the colony, under penalty of being prosecuted, and *condemned as seditious and disturbers of public tranquillity.*" (3) And the penalty then was death,—death under its most horrid forms.

Thus, the men of color, far from having exhibited an eagerness to unite with the whites in suppressing that insurrection, as Mr. Wright asserts, in his paragraph which I have quoted: "II. All classes of whites and *mulattoes* joined in suppressing the insurrection, and pushed their advantage of science and arms so far, that they overdid it, &c." So far from that being the case, I say, history proves that they aided the insurrection to the extent of their ability. And it required force, or intimidation, to compel a few of them to take part against the slaves; in the same manner as we see the unfortunate slaves of the South, to-day, obliged to dig trenches and build ramparts to protect their hated masters against the army of the North, whose triumph is, unquestionably, the object of their most fervent prayers.

However, intoxicated with their success, these unfortunate slaves abandoned themselves to the most frightful disorders, far from having any thought about establishing their liberty. As yet, they had no idea even of that priceless liberty, man's natural attribute, and we have the mortification to behold their most distinguished leaders, Biasson, Jean Francois, and even their Lieutenant, Toussaint L'Ouverture himself,—to such an extent, alas! had slavery corrupted their minds—selling the blacks and mulattoes who fell into their hands, without scruple, to the Spaniards of the Eastern part of the Island. (4)

The perpetration of such revolting abuses, together with repeated scenes of carnage and depredation, could only grieve the true friends of liberty, and very soon those whom a pure love for the sacred rights of man had armed in favor of the insurgents, abandoned them to their fate. At length, their chiefs, weary of carnage, or doubtful of the future, made overtures to the civil commissioners, Myrbeck and St. Leger, &c., representatives of France in the colony, to put an end to the insurrection, and *reduce the whole of the army to slavery*, with the exception of four hundred of the principal ones among them. (5)

After these unpropitious events, order and peace were not reëstablished in the colony. The whites, puffed up with pride, and blinded by the prejudices which controlled them, quickly forgot the imminent danger they had just escaped, and redoubled their persecutions against the men of color and free blacks, whose intelligence and evident prosperity appeared to them an odious and insupportable rivalry. Nourished in vice, and habituated to crime, these infamous colonists, of execrable memory, did not only make laws, as some of the Southern States in this country, to expel the free colored men from their midst, but carried their atrocity, in their insatiable thirst for control, to the extent of meditating the horrible, the inconceivable project of exterminating the entire colored caste! (6)

Disembarrassed of that turbulent population, as they style them, jealous of their rights, they would remain, so they thought, only more quiet possessors of their slaves.

Toussaint L'Ouverture sprang from this scandalous and unheard of scheme, which, even now, after a lapse of seventy years, makes us tremble with horror and indignation. But, very soon, the genius of the black chieftain displaying itself, he thought to turn against his instigators the fratricidal weapon which they had placed in his hands. It was too late! France had sent her battalions to deliver the colonists from their redoutable ally. Touissaint was taken, and conveyed to France.

Then, and only then, it was, that the Genius of Liberty, spreading its protecting wings over that unprotected land, carved with its puissant sword upon the blue firmament of Hayti, to the astonished gaze of blacks and mulattoes, the magic and ineffaceable words:—"LIBERTY, INDEPENDENCE, or DEATH!"

Alexandre Petion, a mulatto, the founder of the Republic of Hayti, seized, like another Washington, with all the sacred enthusiasm with which his great soul was susceptible, these words, and wrote them, on the glorious night of the 13th of October, 1802, on the standard of the new country, which, together with Dessalines, (black,) he was about to bestow upon his brethren. And thus uniting their efforts, both colored and black, under the inspiration of those two reform chiefs, succeeded, at last, after the most desperate struggles, in attaining their liberty and independence. Behold the action of colored and black men of Hayti!

But, in order that the lesson which Mr. Wright's able pen has so wisely and so intelligently drawn from the history of Hayti should have its full effect, it was necessary that we should correct the involuntary error into which he has fallen: namely, that the men of color of Hayti have manifested an indifference to the condition of the slave. The facts which we have just set forth prove, on the contrary, what part they played in the events of the war which led to the the independence of that country. There should be no concealment; the same causes will produce the same effects in the United States as in Hayti. If blind prejudices, as unjust as they are barbarous, induce the South to perpetuate slavery and its horrors in their States, the 500,000 free colored men, scattered throughout the Union in shame and dejection, eagerly waiting for an opportunity, will find means, some day, to inflame the souls of the slaves, and to execute, in the words of Dessalines, *by a universal earthquake*, a terrible vengeance! And be well assured, that every attempt, on the part of the North, to maintain and protect slavery at the South, is only making her take one step more towards her ruin and destruction.

(1) It is well to remember, that the name of Saint Domingue used in this writing *merely* refers to the French part of the Island of Hayti,—at that time the French calling it "the colony of St. Domingo." The same constitutes now the Republic of Hayti, under the rule of Fabre Geffrard, President.

(2) St. Remy, Petion and Haiti, Sec. 1, p. 45, 43. T. Madiou, Hist. d'Haiti, vol. 1, p. 54.

(3) Disquisitions on the History of Hayti. B. Ardouin. Vol. 1, p. 114. An account of the troubles of St. Domingo. J. P. Garran. Vol. 2, p. 197.

(1) History of Hayti. T. Madiou. Vol. 1, p. 57. B. Ardouin. Vol. 1, pp. 134, 135.
(2) Report of the Troubles of St. Domingue. J. P. Garran. Vol. 2, p. 55.
(3) Notes of B. Ardouin. Hist. d'Haiti, p. 144, vol. 1.
(4) Protest of the Parish of Gros Morne.
(5) Letter of Labruisseniere, mulatto, to J. Raymond.
(6) Pamphile de Lacroix, vol. 1, pp. 24, 64. B. Ardouin, Etudes sur l'Hist. d'Haiti, vol. 1, p. 224.
(7) Hist. d'Haiti, Th. Madiou, volume 1, pp. 68, 69.
(8) Hist. d'Haiti, T. Madiou, vol. 1, p. 77.
(9) Pamphile de Lacroix, vol. 1, p. 85.
(10) Pamphile de Lacroix, vol. 1, pp. 65, 100.

(1) Th. Madiou, Hist. d'Haiti, vol. 1, p. 71. Garran Coulon, vol. 1, p. 324.
(2) Etudes sur l'Haiti, Ardouin, vol. 1, p. 240.
(3) B. Ardouin, Etudes sur l'Histoire d'Haiti, vol. 1, p. 250.
(4) T. Madiou, History d'Haiti. Vol. 1, p. 93.
(5) T. Madiou, History d'Haiti. Vol. 1, p. 91. B. Ardouin. Vol. 1, p. 278.
(6) B. Ardouin, vol. 4, p. 60.

When France, occupied in her continental wars, was obliged, in a manner, to abandon St. Domingo to herself, and her Commissioners there, in order to save the authority of the mother country, imperilled in that colony by the treason of the colonists, were compelled by circumstances to proclaim a mock liberty to the slaves, England sent 31,000 men, and expended one hundred million of dollars, to re-establish slavery in the parts of the island which the colonists had given up to her. Of these 31,000, 21,000 perished, the victims of their audacious temerity. Later, Bonaparte, mistaking his destiny, and abjuring his past, attempted to restore the old regime in France and her colonies. He sent his fleet to St. Domingo, and 55,600 of his best soldiers, the conquerors of Arcole and the Pyramids. Of this number, 53,000 were immolated as holocausts to the Goddess of Liberty. Of the 40,000 whites who were in St. Domingo when these bloody struggles between Liberty and Slavery began, scarcely 10,000 were able to save themselves, in exile, from the avenging fury of the Nemesis whom their perfidious hands had armed!

So, then, 21,000, 53,000, and 30,000, equal to a total of 104,000 white corpses—without counting the money, without mentioning the negroes—that is what the blind obstinacy of the colonists of St. Domingo cost humanity! Should not their interests alone, setting aside the considerations of justice and humanity, have induced them to break the chains of their slaves, and attach them to themselves by their justice and equity? They would have made of them free and intelligent laborers, who, even to-day, would have been glad to moisten with their sweat the vast domain of their former masters, as is the case now in Barbadoes, St. Lucia, Jamaica,—in short, every where, where the chains of the slave have been broken even by the hand of the masters!

Here, then, is a weighty lesson, as Mr. Wright very justly remarks, and one which God seems to have placed expressly in view of the Americans, to save their beautiful and flourishing country from the ruin and desolation with which slavery threatens it.

A. TATE,
Capitaine de la Garde de S. E. le President d'Haiti.

Boston, June 19, 1861.

COL. COWDIN TURNED SLAVE-CATCHER.

The redoubtable Colonel of the First Massachusetts Regiment seems to be winning an unenviable notoriety, not only for his unsoldier-like blunders and ignorance of the most trivial military matters, but for a deed more reprehensible than all else, and which native ignorance and stupidity can hardly excuse. We let the Washington correspondent of the Boston *Traveller* tell the story in his own way:—

"The members of the Massachusetts First have been considerably stirred up by an occurrence which has taken place within a few hours. It seems that last Wednesday or Thursday, a slave called 'Wisdom,' ran away from his master, living in or near Georgetown, on account of having been beaten and otherwise ill-treated. It was said that his master was a mounted Secessionist, and even slave-driver, and the slave described a saddle, bridle and pistol, which belonged to him, and was kept in the parlor of his residence, in readiness for action, should the Government forces be compelled to evacuate Washington.

Whether true or not, such was the slave's testimony, and he was immediately taken into the camp and employed by the wagoners about their horses, &c., they sharing their rations with him, and giving him a lodging by night.

On Sunday, July 7th, the man pretending to be his master came into the camp inquiring for his slave. He was sent to various parts of the camp on such fools' errands as he deserved. While he was gone, the slave was hurried first into the woods, and then into the empty aqueduct of the Washington water works, and there hidden until his claimant returned home discouraged. Monday morning, however, bright and early, he was back again, *still without papers*, and the wagoners unfortunately being all away, he got track and sight of the fugitive he sought. When the poor fellow heard the voice of his master, he trembled like a frightened hare, and could hardly move, so extreme was his terror.

Capt. Snow, of Somerville, was the officer of the day, and a request was made to him that the slave might be given up and remanded to bondage. But on various pretexts, the Captain delayed action, like the true and noble-hearted man he is, hoping that the slave might again be smuggled out of the way.

His master, however, went at once to the Colonel, and stated his case, and the Colonel, *without papers*, or any legal action, whatever, without testimony even, save that of the slave and his owner informally given, and therefore not to be legally received, commanded Captain Snow, as he himself confessed in presence of the Captain and the Chaplain, W. H. Cudworth, to deliver up the slave to his master. From this order, there was of course no appeal. The slave was given up, trembling with terror, and is now in *bonds*. What punishment he *has* suffered, or *will* suffer, can only be conjectured."

[From the Boston Traveller.]

MESSRS. EDITORS,—I had my blood stirred while reading the account given in your paper of the return of a fugitive by order of Col. Cowdin of the First Massachusetts Regiment. Such a shameful, illegal, barbarous and inhuman act as this should not be lightly passed over. The reputation of the regiment, and I may say of Massachusetts, is involved in this, in a great degree. Col. Cowdin in this did not represent the sentiments of his soldiers or of the citizens of this State. There does not seem to be a single palliating circumstance connected with it. There was strong reason to believe that the fugitive's master was a Secessionist, and if he were not, there was no law requiring his return, for the Fugitive Slave Law applies to the rendition of slaves that flee from *one State to another*; there was no proper trial or investigation, and *no papers*, even, produced by the fugitive's pursuer. There are no terms in our language too strong to express my indignation at this act, but it would be useless to employ them, for the act speaks for itself to every right-minded person. I do ardently desire that this outrage will receive the attention it ought to receive, and that Col. Cowdin will be immediately deprived of his commission, and be consigned to the place he richly deserves. Let him be tolerated where he is, and the effect on his soldiers must be bad, the effect here will be bad, and the effect abroad will be to strengthen the erroneous impressions that exist, and for the removal of which such strenuous efforts are now made. JUSTITIA.

COL. COWDIN HUNG IN EFFIGY. The police of the Fourth Station, says the Boston *Herald*, discovered early Sunday morning an effigy of Col. Robert Cowdin hanging from a tree. The figure had on a military cap, and was labeled with the following inscription: "Col. Cowdin, of Burns rendition notoriety, is now practising his tricks at kidnapping in Washington." The effigy was cut down, and taken to the Fourth Police Station House.

☞ The Washington correspondent of the Boston *Journal* writes as follows:—

"I see that in a late edition of the *Journal*, you have something to say of Col. Cowdin's delivering up the slave here in camp, and that Mr. Gibbs states that it was the property of a Union man in the District. I would merely state that much dissatisfaction exists here in regard to it, and that there is considerable doubt whether he is the property of a Union man. He is probably the so-called property of a secessionist, and don't be surprised to hear he is recaptured by the friends of justice and humanity of the 1st Regiment."

LYNN AGAINST SURRENDERING FUGITIVE SLAVES. The following petition is being circulated in Lynn:—

"TO HON. JOHN B. ALLEY, M. C.:

Dear Sir,—The undersigned, citizens of Lynn, respectfully, but earnestly, urge upon your serious consideration the duty of using whatever influence you can exert, for the prompt removal of Col. Cowdin, of the Mass. First Regiment, in view of his gratuitous, illegal and inhuman compliance with the demand of a rebel slaveholder to surrender to him one of his fugitive slaves who had taken refuge in the camp—whereby the honor and humanity of the regiment were compromised, the feelings of the people of Massachusetts grievously outraged, and a damaging effect produced upon that popular enthusiasm which is so essential to the support of the government in its efforts for the suppression of the Southern rebellion."

NEGRO REBELLION—*Excitement at the Relay House.*—Considerable excitement prevailed in the vicinity of the Relay House during yesterday, owing to the circulation of reports that a servile insurrection had occurred amongst the negroes in that neighborhood.

The facts of the case, as we have them from a resident of the neighborhood, are simply these: Early in the morning, Dr. Hall, a gentleman largely engaged in farming interests, directed a small negro girl belonging to him to proceed to the quarters and rouse his negro servants in order to commence work.

From some freak, the girl neglected to obey her master's bidding, and lay down on the steps and went to sleep. At a later hour the doctor, discovering that she had not complied with his request, undertook to inflict a slight chastisement, when one of his negro men interfered, and told him he should not touch the child; and finally, assisted by several others, made an onslaught on the doctor and his son, who had come up in the meantime.

One of the gentlemen, who was armed, succeeded in shooting the ringleader, but being finally overcome by superior force, and severely injured, the two retreated to the house, where they were followed by the negro, who was only prevented from entering by a gun being pointed at him.

He then started off, as he said, to ask the protection of the soldiers at the Relay, a mile and a half distant, but before reaching the place, he fell and fainted from the loss of blood. He was immediately taken in charge by the military, who placed him on a litter and attended to his wounds.

Subsequently, Dr. Hall, accompanied by a magistrate, appeared at the Relay, and demanded of Colonel Jones that his negro should be delivered up.

Colonel Jones was holding the matter under advisement, but it was thought that he would give the negro up.—*Baltimore American, July 12th.*

The Baltimore *Sun* has this account of another fugitive:—

"While the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment was in the occupancy of Baltimore, a colored man, slave of William Dorbacker, Esq., proprietor of the Three Tuns Tavern, absconded to the camp of the regiment, and was taken into the employ of some of the officers.

When the regiment returned to the Relay House, the man went with them, and continued there until a day or two since, when Mr. Dorbacker, discovering his whereabouts, sent for him. The messenger was somewhat maltreated by the soldiers as soon as he made his mission public, and had to leave the camp rather hastily.

On Tuesday, Mr. Dorbacker procured the services of officer John Wright, who, armed with an order from Provost Marshal Kenly, presented it at the quarters of Col. Jones, and claimed the property. Col. Jones said he did not recognize slaves as contraband, and gave up the man at once. The officer, however, saw the propriety of making a circuitous route from the camp to the railroad depot, to avoid a possible rescue."

WISHINGTON, July 15. The following official dispatch has been received by the War Department:—

"HUTTONSVILLE, Va., July 15.

Col. E. D. Townsend, Assistant Adjutant General:

Gen. Garnett and his forces have been routed, and his baggage and one gun taken. His army is completely demoralized. Gen. Garnett was killed while attempting to rally his forces at Carricksford, near St. George. We have completely annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia. Our loss is but 13 killed and not more than 40 wounded, while the enemy's loss is not far from 200 killed, and the number of prisoners we have taken will amount to at least 1000. We have captured 7 of the enemy's guns in all. A portion of Gen. Garnett's forces retreated, but I look for their capture by Gen. Hill, who is in hot pursuit. The troops that Gen. Garnett had under his command are said to be the crack regiments of Eastern Virginia, aided by Georgians, Tennesseeans and Carolinians. Our success is complete, and I firmly believe that secession is killed in this section of the country.

(Signed,) GEO. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General U. S. Army."

GRAFTON, Va., July 15. Garnett was Adjutant-General of Virginia. The rebels were pursued from Laurel Hill by Gen. Morris's command, consisting of the 14th Ohio and 7th and 9th Indiana regiments.

The rebels carried off many of their dead, but they were completely routed and scattered, Gen. Morris's command captured 40 loads of provisions, and all their horses, wagons, &c. There was no other loss on our side than the two killed and two mortally wounded of the Ohio 14th.

WASHINGTON, July 14. The following is the report of Gen. McClellan to Lieutenant-General Scott:

BEVERLY, Va., July 13. I have received from Gen. Pegram propositions for a surrender, with his officers and the remnant of his command, say 600 men. They are said to be extremely penitent, and are determined never again to take up arms against the General Government. I shall have nearly 900 or 1000 prisoners to take care of when Gen. Pegram comes in. The latest accounts make the loss of the rebels killed some 150.

☞ A large number of Arkansas troops were engaged against Col. Siegle in the battle near Carthage. The federal loss in the battle was ten killed, three wounded, and four missing. The rebels state their loss to be 700 killed. The guard of 120 left at Neosho by Col. Siegel previous to the battle were taken prisoners by a large force of Arkansas troops, and a proposition was made to shoot them, but they were released on taking an oath that they would not bear arms against the Southern Confederacy.

☞ A lady correspondent of the New York *Commercial Advertiser* thus speaks of the ferocious way in which they urge Southern troops in Northern Alabama to carry on the war. "Soldiers," she says, "are everywhere greeted with bursts of enthusiasm along the whole route, ladies thronging to the stations, with flowers, baskets of provisions, waving their handkerchiefs, throwing kisses, &c., begging for 'Lincoln's scalp,' 'a lock of his hair,' cries of 'down with the rail-splitter,' 'show the vile Northern hordes, the cursed Yankees, some Southern chivalry,' 'give them *warm* Southern hospitality.'"

☞ The Raleigh *Register*, of the 10th, says that steamer Winslow captured, off Cape Hatteras, on the 3rd inst., schooner Herbert Martin, of Barnstable, Mass., with a cargo of sugar and molasses, valued at $30,000.

FIRST OF AUGUST CELEBRATION.

Again the Anniversary draws near of one of the most beneficent and memorable events in the history of the world,—ancient or modern,—the Peaceful Emancipation of 800,000 Slaves, the beginning of a great Act of Justice and Humanity, whose wisdom has at length compelled the acknowledgment of the world at large, even of the unwilling and prejudiced. The Emancipation of the Slaves in the British West India Islands, on the 1st of August, 1834, ranks now in history as an event not less remarkable for its cheering results than for the benevolent and humane motives which inspired it.

The Managers of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY invite the friends of freedom everywhere, all who are interested in the great events of human progress, and all who desire to see the barbarous, inhuman, and unchristian Slavery of our own land give place to the reign of Freedom, Justice, and Peace throughout our borders, and throughout the world, to meet with them, at the well-known and beautiful grove in ABINGTON, on THURSDAY, August 1st, 1861, in commemoration of the Day.

Let all join to make this FESTIVAL OF FREEDOM worthy of the occasion, of the long line of effective meetings which have preceded it in honor of this event, and of the mighty object in behalf of which it is held,—the cleansing of our own land from the curse and shame of Human Slavery.

Eloquent speakers will be present. Railroad trains will run at reduced fares, &c. Of all which, further particulars hereafter.

W. L. GARRISON,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
THOS. J. HUNT,
ELIAS RICHARDS,
ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE,
Committee of Arrangements.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the Anti-Slavery Cause at Framingham, July 4, 1861.

Edmund Quincy	1 00	Alfred Woodman	1 09
S. May, Jr.	1 00	H G O Blake	1 00
Mrs. W. P. Atkinson	1 00	A S. Cook	0 25
Mrs. S. R. May	1 00	A W Kelley	0 25
Dr. Daniel Mann	1 00	J. M. Aldrich	1 00
J B Pierce	1 00	Ceo T Garrison	1 00
Percy King	1 00	L D Gray	0 50
Rev J S Milligan	1 00	A. L. Babcock	0 50
E D Draper	4 13	Caroline R. Putnam	1 00
A W Cheever	0 32	Mary Wickock	0 50
Wm Sparrell	1 00	E White	1 00
J C Haynes	5 00	Cyrus Cook	0 50
Sarah E Wall	2 75	P W Morrill	0 50
Samuel Barrett	5 00	T. Southwick	0 25
T B Rice	1 00	Geo Draper	5 00
C K Whipple	1 00	S. C Fay	1 00
Z. Leonard	0 25	Mrs T P Knox	0 25
D Patrick	0 50	P. A. Chase	1 00
J A Nowell	0 25	Rev S Sella Martin	1 00
J S Hayward	5 00	Hon. N H Whiting	1 00
B Snow, Jr	2 00	Mrs N H Whiting	0 25
A T Draper	1 00	Capt A Tate, Hayti	1 00
M A Dutcher	25 00	C. C. Brock	1 00
W W Dutcher	25 00	O G Cheever	0 25
L S N	1 00	John Winslow	1 00
Mary Willey	0 50	J G Ford	2 00
M B Goodrich	0 50	J E Oliver and ladies	3 00
C A Hovey	0 50	Wm Bassett Jr	2 00
Geo W Stacy	1 00	Charles Follen	5 00
J Davis	5 00	Maria W Chapman	1 00
WL Garrison	1 00	Rev M G Kimball	0 50
Mr Phipps	1 00	F H Henshaw	1 00
Dr T P Knox	1 00	Cash of others	27 70
W L Garrison, Jr	1 00		
J H. Brigham	1 00	Total,	$161 15

PLEDGES.

Mrs. M. M. Brooks, Concord,	$20 00
T. C. Severance,	5 00
Peter Lanns,	0 50

☞ A. T. FOSS will speak at
Harwich, Sunday, July 21.
East Dennis, " " 28.

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY will lecture in South New-Market, N. H., next Sunday, 21st inst., at usual hours.

HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture in Monroe, Me., Sunday, July 21, all day and evening.

☞ The friends of freedom will celebrate West India Emancipation, as usual, by a mass meeting in the spacious Town Hall in Milford, Friday, August 2. Particulars next week.

☞ WM. LLOYD GARRISON will speak at Rev. Mr. Grimes's Church, in Southac street, in this city, on SUNDAY EVENING next, with particular reference to the colopization of the colored people in Hayti and elsewhere.

☞ MERCY B. JACKSON, M. D., having had fifteen years' experience in the Homœopathic treatment of diseases, offers her professional services to the Ladies and Children of Boston and vicinity.

References.—David Thayer, M. D.; Luther Clark, M. D.; John M. Tarbell, M. D., Boston. Eliphalet Clark, M. D., Portland, Me.

Rooms No. 20 Bulfinch street. Office hours from 2 to 4, P. M.

DIED—At Alexandria, (Va.) July 7, WILLIE RICHAR

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

APOCALYPSE.

"All hail to the stars and stripes!"—Luther C. Ladd.

Straight to his heart the bullet crushed,
Down from his breast the red blood gushed,
And o'er his face a glory rushed.

A sudden spasm rent his frame,
And in his ears there went and came
A sound as of devouring flame,

Which in a moment ceased, and then
The great light clasped his brows again,
So that they shone like Stephen's, when

Saul stood apart a little space,
And shook with shuddering awe to trace
God's splendors settling o'er his face.

Thus, like a king, erect in pride,
Raising his hands to heaven, he cried,
"All hail the Stars and Stripes!" and died.

Died grandly: but, before he fell,
(O, blessedness ineffable!)
Vision apocalyptical

Was granted to him, and his eyes,
All radiant with glad surprise,
Looked forward through the centuries,

And saw the seeds that sages cast
In the world's soil in cycles past,
Spring up and blossom at the last:

Saw how the souls of men had grown,
And where the scythes of Truth had mown
Clear space for Liberty's white throne:

Saw how, by Sorrow tried and proved,
The last dark stains had been removed
Forever from the land he loved.

Saw Treason crushed, and Freedom crowned,
And clamorous Faction, gagged and bound,
Gasping its life out on the ground;

While over all his country's slopes
Walked swarming troops of cheerful hopes,
Which evermore to broader scopes

Increased, with power that comprehends
The world's weal in its own, and bends
Self-needs to large, unselfish ends.

Saw how, throughout the vast extents
Of earth's most populous continents,
She dropped such rare heart-affluence,

That, from beyond the farthest seas,
The wondering peoples thronged to seize
Her proffered pure benignities;—

And how of all her trebled host
Of widening empires, none could boast
Whose strength or love was uppermost,

Because they grew so equal there
Beneath the flag, which, debonnaire,
Waved joyous in the golden air:—

Wherefore the martyr, gazing clear
Beyond the gloomy atmosphere
Which shuts us in with doubt and fear,—

He, marking how her high increase
Ran greatening in perpetual lease
Through balmy years of odorous Peace,

Greeted, in one transcendent cry
Of intense, passionate extacy,
The sight that thrilled him utterly,—

Saluting with most proud disdain
Of murder and of mortal pain,
The vision which shall be again:

So, lifted with prophetic pride,
Raised conquering hands to heaven, and cried,
"All hail the Stars and Stripes!"—and died.

Clarence Butler.

TOUCH NOT THE TEMPTING CUP.

Touch not the tempting cup, my boy,
Touch not the sparkling wine;
Trust not the pleasures of the bowl,
The glories of the vine;
The bloated face, the bloodshot eye,
Shall tell to you the reason why.

Touch not the tempting cup, my boy,
Beer, brandy, wine or gin;
Let topers praise their foolish ways
Who make a mock of sin;
The drunken demon's maddened cry
Shall tell to you the reason why.

Touch not the tempting cup, my boy,
Though urged by friend or foe;
Dare, when the tempter urges most,
Dare nobly say, No—no!
The joyous angel from on high
Shall tell to you the reason why.

Touch not the tempting cup, my boy,
In righteousness be brave;
Take not the *first*, a single step,
Toward the drunkard's grave;
The widow's groan, the orphan's sigh,
Shall tell to you the reason why.

SMILE, AND BE CONTENTED.

The world grows old, and men grow cold
To each, whilst seeking treasure;
And what with want, and care, and toil,
We scarce have time for pleasure.
But, never mind—that is a loss
Not much to be lamented;
Life rolls on gaily, if we will
But smile, and be contented.

If we are poor, and would be rich,
It will not be by pining;
No! steady hearts and hopeful minds
Are life's bright silver lining.
There's ne'er a man that dared to hope,
Hath of his choice repented;
The happiest souls on earth are those
Who smile, and are contented.

When grief doth come to rack the heart,
And fortune bids us sorrow,
From hope we may a blessing reap,
And consolation borrow.
If thorns will rise where roses bloom,
It cannot be prevented;
So make the best of life you can,
And smile, and be contented.

WHAT THEY SAY.

Wouldst thou know what troubles many,
What annoys them night and day?
Not a frightful myth, or robber,
But the spectre, "What they say."

"What they say!" It haunts the maiden
When her hat or dress she buys,
Goads the matron till she maketh
Husband's purse a sacrifice.

To the orator it clingeth,
Daunts the statesman in his dream,
With the pulpit-teacher stealeth
'Tween him and his highest theme.

"What they say?" Well, let them say it;
Airy echo, fleet as dew;
When they've breathed it, 'tis forgotten—
They who hear forget it too.

Wouldst thou know what rules the million?
Themis, with her ancient sway?
Pomp and tramp of bannered legions?
No,—the bubble, "What they say!"

PROCLAIM THE JUBILEE!

Go forth with a trumpet's sound,
And tell to the nations round,—
On the hills which our heroes trod,
In the shrines of the saints of God,
In the ruler's hall and the captive's prison,—
That the slumber is broken, the sleepers are risen;
That the day of the scourge and the fetter is o'er,
And earth feels the tread of her freemen once more.

The Liberator.

E. H. HEYWOOD—WENDELL PHILLIPS—WAR, ETC.

Friend Garrison: I have just read the admirable discourse of E. H. Heywood, delivered at Music Hall. It is rich, racy, cogent and eloquent. May his days be long in the land, and time ever deal gently with him!

I failed to note in the discourse but a single instance in which the logic seemed to be lame; and that was his criticism on Wendell Phillips. He says—"I cannot agree with Mr. Phillips when he says that such a contest (our national one) can be settled only by arms. I most gravely dissent from that fatal concession. It denies the adequacy of the human reason to apprehend and obey the truth:" yet in the next paragraph but one beyond this, Mr. Heywood observes as follows: "I do not propose to discuss the abstract question of peace, this morning. Men have not the vision or the self-poise to weigh its tremendous issues amid the smoke of battle and the roar of cannon."

Does not this declaration as strongly imply the denial of the adequacy of the human reason to apprehend and obey the truth, as does the statement of Mr. Phillips?

Surely, Mr. Heywood will not claim that the smoke of battle and the roar of cannon are more effectual in beclouding the vision and weakening the self-poise of men on the peace question, than the clink of Mammon's box, backed up by the lust of political and ecclesiastical power, and flanked strongly by rampant contempt for a degraded and subject race is, in disqualifying men for a reasonable, righteous and peaceful settlement of our great national question of government and liberty. That "our Demosthenes" is right, therefore, I think is clear, even from the discourse of his able and eloquent critic.

As others of late have given their views of peace and war to the readers of the *Liberator*, I will, with your permission, after more than three decades of thoughtful years, give mine, as well as I can in a few words. Men, though progressing towards perfection, are, nevertheless, very imperfect beings; consequently, it is impossible for them to conform in all things to the standard of absolute right; infinite perfection alone is equal to the task. So it will be seen, that hewing to the line of absolute right would cause chips to fly into the faces of all of woman born, too plenty by half for the comfort of self-complacent pharisees, if not to the occasional disquiet of better developed men. It would prove a fruitless enterprise to undertake to convert the mouth of Vesuvius into a strawberry patch. While the earth is progressing to a more perfect state, active volcanoes are indispensable; they perform an office absolutely necessary to the general good, though they occasionally do, in their unreasoning zeal, what appears to be serious partial mischief. Time has been when they were numerous, and much more active than at present; and the period will undoubtedly arrive in the distant future when they will cease altogether; but the present state of the earth's development demands their action.

Equally clear it is, to my mind, that the past and present state of the moral world demands such violent eruptions as war—such things must needs be; and, being a natural necessity, are, in a certain and proper sense, right, and more or less morally justifiable in one or both parties engaged therein; and, being right, it cannot be wrong for men of corresponding moral development, under certain circumstances, to engage in them. Men, under certain circumstances, can no more be non-resistants than crater-mouths can be strawberry beds. On the other hand, certain other men, under other circumstances, can no more fight and physically destroy their fellows, than the fruitful gardens and vineyards of Italy can produce the phenomena of Ætna and Vesuvius; both the vineyard and the crata have their office to perform in the economy of nature, and let not one say to the other, I have no need of thee. The hero of Harper's Ferry, whose mortal career culminated in receiving a martyr's crown on a Virginia scaffold, possessed a heart as devout, as tender, as sincere, as loving, as truly devoted to humanity, as the worthy and peaceful demonstrator of non-resistance who still adorns the mortal sphere of human existence at Hopedale.

It seems self-evidently clear to my mind, that men, both individually and socially, have the right of self-preservation. If they are conscious of possessing that degree of moral power which will yield them all the defence they need or desire, then it is their duty and privilege to depend on that alone; or, if they accept it as their mission to give themselves to martyrdom in vindication of the principles of peace, all considerate and just people cannot fail to honor them, and their example will not be without its salutary effect on the progress of mankind. So, when an individual, or a community, in their judgment find it necessary to vindicate the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, for themselves or others, in the use of the enginery of physical destruction, the unperverted instincts of humanity and enlightened reason applaud the deed; and, with gratitude and admiration, men build monuments in honor of their names. And who shall say that life, and everything dear to life, are not more secure for such heroic, though sanguinary defence of the rights of man?

But it is said that, "to defend war is to defend the dispositions that lead to war." Very well. What are the dispositions that lead a righteous man to war? Clearly, a disposition to defend a righteous cause against the assault of unrighteousness—civilization against barbarism—liberty against slavery.

To be led to war by a disposition to kill or plunder, or for the bubble reputation, or for the purpose of enslaving the vanquished, is quite another matter.

If civilization, when assaulted by barbarism with physical force, neglects to meet it in the same way, its subjugation is certain, and it must itself relapse into barbarism.

There is one consideration only, that I can conceive of, which would justify, at the bar of enlightened reason, the refusal, under all circumstances, to take the life of a fellow-man: if a person really believed that all who depart this life have their condition fixed for weal or wo, for all eternity, according as they are prepared or unprepared at the moment of their exit from mortal life—if he has not the means of knowing certainly that his enemy has that preparation which will save him from eternal perdition, I can conceive of nothing that ought to induce him to take his life on the battle-field, or elsewhere.

Horrible as war is, there are worse things in the world than war. The spirit of acquisition in trade is worse than war. As this spirit is indulged in, and as trade is practised by the civilized world, it is more destructive of human comfort, and more fatal to the temporal existence of man, than war. More die of destitution than are slain in battle. What considerate person would not rather meet death by the quick instrumentalities of the battle-field, than die by inches of utter want in loathsome dens, where the weak and poor are driven by the spirit of trade to famish? But war is objected to as wrong, because it is said that "like begets like, and freedom is never the result." History does not sustain this assertion, and the maxim with which it is associated must be taken with many grains of allowance; otherwise, human progress would be impossible. From types of mankind nearly allied to the lower orders of creation came the savage; from savageism came barbarism; and from barbarism came civilization; and so on up the spiral ascent to supernal excellence. Like begets like in a certain general and qualified sense, in some things—not in all: fire passing over stubble does not beget a fire to succeed it. The pestilence that ravages a district does not beget a pestilence to come after it, but dies out, after exhausting the element on which it fed: thunder-storm and tempest do not beget their kind, nor leave their progeny in their track. The human passions, bad and good, as they are sometimes called, have developed their opposites;—injurious people have received kind treatment, and non-resisting harmlessness has often been murdered. So, war, terrible and cruel as it is, begets a varied progeny, some of which, by common consent, are a blessing to mankind; while others, to the eye of superficial observation, seem to be a curse and a scourge; but to the vision that can overlook the ages, and compare period with period, the results of war, in all their variety of acknowledged good and seeming evil, are seen to have been a potent instrumentality for promoting progress and civilization on the earth. Thus does the hand of Beneficent Omnipotence, through the operation of changeless law, continually work out human advancement,—

"From seeming evil still educing good,
And better thence again, and better yet,
In infinite progression."

Springfield, July, 1861. E. W. TWING.

EVERETT ON SECESSION.

The oration of Hon. Edward Everett at New York, on the 4th of July, was one of his most able and instructive performances; replete with that immense historical knowledge, comprehensiveness of view, and impressiveness of expression, for which he is ever distinguished; but, as from the commencement, it proceeds upon assumptions, which, although made by almost all the Northern papers, seem to me fallacious, and as I am anxious that our country should not, in the eyes of all the exterior world and future posterity, appear to have entered upon all the slaughters, losses and crimes of war, for a fallacy, without any present rebuke, I beg publicity to the following comments. If they should be deemed erroneous, they will at least give occasion for such a reply as may quiet the minds of many who now think with me.

I quote the passage in the address, on which I wish expressly to comment:—

"The Constitution contains the following express provision: 'This Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance thereof, and the treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.' Such being the express provision of the Constitution of the United States, which the people of South Carolina adopted in 1788, just as much as they ever adopted either of the State Constitutions, is it not trifling with serious things to claim that, by the simple expedient of passing a law under the name of ordinance, this provision, and every other provision of it, may be nullified, and every magistrate and officer in Carolina, whether of the State or Union, absolved from the oath which they have taken to support it?"

Here we see implied the radical error pervading all the newspaper writings, &c., denying the right of secession. The Federal Government is spoken of, not as a delegated and limited government, but as one possessing, not only paramount, but complete, unlimited sovereignty, like that of any European government. The provision cited by Mr. E., that the Constitution and laws of the U. S. shall be supreme, without regard to the laws of the States, means only respecting those provisions and laws for which powers have been expressly granted to the U. S. by the Constitution. Attempted laws of the Federal Government without those limits are not only not supreme, but they are not laws at all—they are mere nullities. Such was the plain understanding of the framers of the Constitution; such the belief of the people at large; such the decisions of the Courts; and such is the express declaration of the 10th Amendment, which plainly refuses all ungranted powers to the Federal Government. None of these authorities, supporting this opinion, can properly be accused of "trifling with serious things."

The laws of the United States being then only paramount when made for objects for which powers are expressly granted, the question before us is, whether the right of secession in a State, or of the prevention of it by the Federal Government, is a power granted by the Constitution to that government. I presume there can be but one answer to this question. No person pretends that there is any express power in the Constitution relating to the secession of a State, either in permission or prohibition; the Constitution is silent on the subject; it is therefore a question on which the action is reserved to the States, or the people; and the President, in attempting to prevent secession, or recovery from it, especially by force of arms, is acting on an ungranted, and therefore a usurped power, in violation of the reserved rights of the States.

It has, however, been gravely argued, even by apparently intelligent writers, that as the Constitution gives no power to any State to secede, they cannot therefore have the right; but as this doctrine is plainly contradicted by the 10th Amendment, and, if adopted, would annual all political power and right in all the States, and in every citizen, on which the Constitution is silent, it is scarcely necessary to give a serious answer to it.

After stating that the Convention of the people of South Carolina solemnly assented to, and ratified the Constitution, made "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty" to the people of the United States, Mr. E. says—"Here it is evident, that there is nothing in the instrument which in the nature of things can be repealed." How does this appear? If he means that the good objects above recited cannot be repealed, nobody will dispute it with him; but this truism proves nothing to the subject. But if he means that the adhesion of the State to the Constitution, expressing those objects, cannot be repealed, I am obliged to differ from him. All political compacts, or ratifying enactments, are impliedly and necessarily conditional, especially when the purposes of the contract are expressed in it: it is saying we will, on our part, support and obey the Constitution you have given us, for the purposes stated in it, if you, on your part, will execute or promote those purposes; and if we deem that those purposes have been violated or neglected by you, as regards us, (and we are the judges,) the contract is annulled, and we are at liberty to revoke it.

I limit these comments to the question of the right of State secession, as discussed by Mr. Everett, because on this question hangs all the right or the wrong of the present war, on the part of the North, and the obligation of conscientious citizens to support it; and all the subsequent historical representations made by him, on the origin and character of the government, the alleged parallel cases in other nations, whose principles of government differ from ours—all the former assent or decisions of the States, &c., accurate, eloquent, and in many parts highly instructive as they are—can have no force in their bearing on this question, until it is shown to the common sense of intelligent men, that the Constitution expressly prohibits secession, and that it is not left as a reserved power to the States.

I am aware that the President, and other opposers of secession, put the duty of coercing the seceded States into the Union on another ground. It is said the Constitution and his oath of office require him to protect the property, and execute the laws, of the Union, which, it is said, necessarily implies the claim to the continued allegiance of all the States, and that the enforcement of the laws is virtually an enforcement of that claim. But the President is under no obligation to protect the property or execute the laws of the Union, in the seceded States: the injunctions of the Constitution and his oath of office can only apply to the States of the Union, as they were at the time of his inauguration, and his taking that oath: they cannot apply to a foreign nation, or one which has escaped from the control of the Federal Government. As he is not bound to execute the laws of the Union in Canada or Mexico, so neither is he bound to execute those laws in the Southern confederacy, which are virtually as much a foreign power. All the moral codes in the world exempt a party from stipulated obligations when it has lost the power to fulfil them; and if it is urged that the President intends to acquire that power by military force, still he is under no such obligation until the conquest is completed, which may never be the case; and for the attempt at which there is no constitutional authority. J. P. B.

RETRENCHMENT AND DECIMATION.

"Now is the time for Massachusetts to send forth ideas."—Phillips.

We have now reached a stage of our national experience when it is necessary to devise ways and means to pilot us through the perplexities. And as all are professedly of one sentiment, with regard to opposition to the Southern rebellion, and party lines are claimed to be obliterated, it becomes all to unite in self-sacrifices for the public good.

The President now calls for 400,000 men and $400,000,000 to enable him to prosecute the war with vigor. As the country is under a Republican administration, and Republicans deem their success over other political organizations as decidedly auspicious, and perhaps tending to the salvation of the Republic, let us venture on a few suggestions for calm consideration.

It is supposable that every true Republican is patriotic enough to claim a deep interest in this dispute, and to stake what he can to sustain his administration, as well as to put down the rebellion. At least, there is much loud asseveration and earnest gesticulation to this effect, especially in our public offices. Now, in two particulars, the services of this active class are really needed,—in men and in money. And what is most fortunate, at the present crisis, the stagnation of business, diminution of revenue, and great surplus of offices, afford them a grand chance to prove the sincerity of their professions by actual practice. Indeed, even if they are not individually disposed to volunteer their aid, the same favorable considerations enable the government to compel them to it as an indispensable duty.

We contend that it is no way to raise an army for the field by running young men of undoubted loyalty into the safe and lucrative shelter of a salaried office, when the times eloquently hint that *one-half of the offices* can be absolutely suspended during this calamity. This course will not enable these pigeon-hole patriots to enlist and maintain the cause in which they profess to take so much pride, and to do battle against the foes they so loudly and bitterly denounce,—foes they so intolerably itch to capture and to hang. Their zeal, if it be genuine, would make them an invincible legion on the field; they might decide the contest,—even shorten it. If not genuine, they should not remain in office; for, the hypocrite and the lukewarm are more dangerous than the avowed traitor. Let no salaried pigeon-hole shield any able-bodied man between twenty and forty-five years of age from the drafting requisitions. Older men can fill those places just as well, while they cannot be so efficient in the army or in the navy. Mr. President and Messrs. Secretaries, ferret them out! The loyal heroes are too valuable to remain ensconced within stone buildings.

We also contend that, at this exigency, the national treasury has no surplus money to salary sinecures, nor to pay full salaries for half services. And we mean to assert that such is the fact; there are many sinecures exorbitantly rewarded. These have ever been increased by the pressure and stagnation in commerce, navigation, and trade. To take our own Custom-House as an example, we pretend to say that twenty-five inspectors can do the present amount of work as well as fifty-six could, a year or two ago; that weighers and measurers do not earn, by actual labor, more money than equally employed inspectors, though they receive nearly half as much again; also, if twelve weighers were sufficient for the business, two years ago, six are ample now. They have assistants or foremen, while the inspectors must do their own work. We are speaking much within bounds. If the institution were in the hands of six or twelve judicious and liberal proprietors, if it were their private property, the official corps would be reduced much below this standard in numbers and expense: mercantile firms are doing the same all over the country.

If we go among the clerks, it is the same. A general listlessness pervades the rotunda and its nooks. Half the clerks are almost literally unemployed in legitimate, clerical business. They could be decimated in number and reduced in salary, with no public injury. And as retrenchment and economy were the Democratic motto, and are now the Republican demand of necessity, what pigeon-hole patriot could consistently object? What outsider would refuse his Amen? If it be not known how to dispose of these savings, and the treasury needs them not, bestow them on the soldiers' families, or lay it up as a Pension Fund. This will help the cause. School teachers, whose tasks are much harder than those of an officer, have voluntarily docked their own salaries. Contributions for partisan purposes can pour from the Custom-House; but, how many have pursed off thousands for the war?

A visit to the deputies would open another field for economy. If three deputies in the Collector's department, and two in each of the Surveyor's and Naval officer's, were enough two years ago, what need of so many now? Absolutely, none. Then, as to their salaries, what entitles them to $2,000 and $2,500, when clerks with $1,100 to $1,300 labor quite as much, if not more? Why is it? Republican Administration, now is the time to administer equity and justice, as well as to practise economy and entrenchment, and profess patriotism.

Proceed we now to the principals. If a deputy, who is almost always a smarter man than the Collector, can do all the Collector's work for a salary of $1,500 or $2,000, what need of paying an inferior person, as to ability, $6,400 a year? And what monstrous iniquity to have that man, whose principal business is to remove and to appoint subordinates, to sanction an occasional decision of his deputies, to take an annual trip or two in the cutter to visit the light-houses as *clerks visit the appraisers*, to attend public banquets, processions, &c., &c., draw upon the government, after he has left his office, for thousands of dollars more for extra services, while he was receiving nearly $20 a day! As good men can be procured for $2,500 or $3,000 a year, without posthumous perquisites, as usually cost some $10,000 or more, under the present system. The Naval Office and the Surveyor's Office are, almost without exception, unqualified sinecures,—each draws his $5,000; and one of the deputies in each is a superfluity.

We will not examine the Assistant Treasurer's Department, nor the Post-Office, with its lucrative income. The Custom-House is a fair sample for consideration. Its Collector is always a monarch, either unlimited, or limited by some oligarchy or clique. His will is law. It is "heads off," if he says the word. It is an incongruity in a republic: autocracy within a democracy. Two or more hundred men at the nod of one man, and he, oftentimes, inferior in ability, patriotic services, party services, merit, and other qualities, to many of those he summarily exiles, often for inferior successors,—swaps off the good family-horse for a bundle of worthless green spectacles. This is an evil demanding correction, and ought to be abolished. What is said of our Custom-House, applies to other parts of the Union—New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, San Francisco, &c., &c. Visit the smaller places, and the post-offices. Go to the land-offices and the navy yards; to the consulates and diplomatic corps. Curtail, economize, decimate, equalize! Now is the time to lop excrescences, to cauterize festers, to cut out rot-specks. Now is the time to renovate and purify, to improve and reform.

Fifty-six inspectors receive $1,095 each. Twenty-five good officers are ample to do their work, and twenty-five good ones are obtainable. Twelve weighers and gaugers receive $1,485 each. Six good ones can fill their places now. Thirty-five clerks receive over $40,000: one $1,600, one $1,500, four $1,400, several $1,300, and so on to $800. Over $60,000 are paid in annual salaries in the Collector's department, and about $250,000 in the whole establishment. If one inspector now is equal to two or four, a few months since, how many desks can one efficient clerk attend to with the present meagre amount of business? And we would suggest whether it would not be a matter of economy, especially when we have one common cause at heart, to retain the experienced officers, and place more desks under the charge of each, thereby virtually abolishing several offices, and saving the salaries thereof, rather than to remove these incumbents for others not so good, nor so profitable to the nation?

We have omitted mention of storekeepers at $1400 salaries, and other officers. We have not criticised the appraisers; but, we merely mean to lay these thoughts before the people, before Congress, and before the national authorities for consideration, and to point to them a prolific source of revenue. A dollar saved is equal to two dollars earned, and better than ten dollars borrowed. It wields more salutary influence on the nation. Congress is now in session, and some of these salaries are fixed by law. It is necessary for that body to act upon the matter for an alteration; and as they are about to modify the tariff, why not economise in the number of offices and in the amount of salaries? Official bread and butter are as legitimate subjects of taxation or duties as are the tea and coffee of the unsalaried masses. At Washington, every officer's name and salary are registered, and the gigantic dimensions of the whole official corps of the nation are there seen as on a map. There they can see how much business is fallen off, how many men are useless, how much those dimensions can be condensed, and how much money can be saved. Drops make the ocean. This hints to the head managers where they can help raise 400,000 additional men, and partially procure $400,000,000 for the year. We point it out for their benefit; we ask for its practical consideration in behalf of the people. Our motto is, Reduce your expenses, and your income need not be so large; your treasurer's estimate can be much smaller. It is akin to the motto, An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Statesmen and legislators of America, try it. The formula is simple and practicable. Economy is better than extravagance. Make the national debt small as possible, and husband our resources. We may need them for other purposes. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Now is the time for action as well as for deliberation. Let our guiding cardinal principle be, Everything for the cause, and nothing for men.

Boston, July 14, 1861. ***

LETTER FROM MAINE.

Mechanic Falls, (Me.) July 3, 1861.

Dear Friend Garrison:

How I rejoice in the prospect that the cause of freedom at present seems to present, and in the various upturnings and overturnings that seem to be taking place, whatever aspect is assumed by the Slave Power, and however the monster may struggle with impending fate. I read with a shark's appetite the *Liberator*, and all other papers which fall into my hands, and continue to envy, without any mixture of jealousy, those who are so fortunate as to be placed in the front of the battle. For many years I have longed, and still long, to be a voice crying in the wilderness of oppression and wrong; and as I read the *Liberator*, from week to week, my spirit bounds with a longing to seize the pen, and make what amends I can for the failure of the labor of the voice; but then I am reminded that you have so many better correspondents, many of whom are in the active field of labor, and whom the readers of the paper love to hear from, and whose names are not only known by every reader, but whose every word is a power, while I am scarcely known beyond the walls of the Anti-Slavery Office, and no one is probably influenced by any thing I write. I have felt strangely in reading the utterances of English and Scotch Abolitionists; and while I am aware how far honest men and women on the right side differ, according to the stand-point from which they take their observations, yet in reading their communications and speeches, I have been led to say of them, as Jacky says in the Gold-diggers—"White fellow stupid fellow," "every ting before his nose, and he no see it:" and, while thus moved, it is refreshing to receive an antidote to these feelings by the perusal of such a document as the speech of George Thompson.

But I have not yet approached the occasion which led me to take my pen, which is the perusal of the letter of Rev. H. T. Cheever to the *Independent*. That letter ought to be published in tract form, and circulated broadcast wherever a tract can be made to go. I can procure the circulation of hundreds of them, and I have not the least doubt that nine-tenths of the members of the Congregational churches in Maine and in New England, who never will see the letter in the *Liberator*, will take precisely the position that the Cheevers do; although I am aware that the influence of the *Independent* has had a bad effect upon the ministry, who are always afraid of going a little too fast, and look upon and speak of such men as the Cheevers as being eccentric in their moral perceptions. Here I have to repeat, "White fellow stupid fellow," as applied to the multitude of wooden-heads who try to do the thinking for the people. I have lost all respect for the editors of the *Independent*. Give me an open, declared foe, like the *Observer*, rather than a false and unreliable ally, who will play into the enemy's hands, Border-State like, when a decisive blow is to be struck.

Yours, for truth, freedom and fairness,
D. S. GRANDIN.

THE STUDY OF LATIN.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

Dear Sir,—I was glad to see Dr. Lewis's circular in your columns last week, and would now ask you to let me say a few words to your readers on another important educational movement. In former times, Latin was the only learned language. All who read or wrote at all, read and wrote Latin. All students in Colleges and Universities were taught in Latin, and studied only Latin. Greek literature was too difficult. English, French, German and Italian literature there was, till within the last few centuries, none. Thus Latin took the lead in all programmes of college studies. This programme of studies, with Latin at the head, has naturally been in great part retained. The best schools are those which teach the most Latin. The young man is thought best fitted for college, who knows his Latin grammar most by heart. About one-fourth of the instruction given by most colleges is still in Latin. I know at least one college where the man from whom the students learn the most is the Latin professor. Now, the question naturally comes up, How far is this study of Latin really necessary? What is it more than a relic of the past? It may be well to have students of Latin literature, but why oblige one hundred men to study Latin six or eight years, in order that one or two of them may become earnest, willing, thorough Latinists? It should be remembered that the life of classic literature is Greek, not Latin: and the writer bitterly regrets having been compelled to divide between Greek and Latin, time which would have yielded him far more precious results if he could have concentrated it on Greek. The progress of the race has brought up new subjects of study—natural and intellectural science, Mathematics, Rhetoric, and several modern literatures, perhaps inferior to Greek, but certainly equal to Latin.

Where is your Latin Shakespeare, or Goethe, or Dante, or Cousin? These various studies certainly have their place in popular education. They all do something to discipline the mind. The practical question remains, How much attention should be given to each? What relative rank should science and the modern languages hold to Latin? This question it is hard to settle. Michigan College differs radically from Harvard, though Harvard takes a little different ground every few years. Lately, Harvard is beginning to teach more and more Latin every year. Soon it will again be less and less. Now, it is certainly possible that Latin should be sometimes valued more for its traditional than its real importance; that it should be studied to the disparagement of modern science and modern thought; that young men's ideas and aspirations should thus be directed backwards instead of forwards; and that educated men should thus be educated for the past, rather than the present. This is certainly possible, and the consequences are bad enough to make it well to hear all sides of the question. I would therefore recommend to your readers a very able and original essay which has been lately published, and will be freely given to all who write for it, by Rev. A. Bordman Lambert, Salem, Washington county, New York. PHILOLOGUS.

PUBLIC FEELING IN ENGLAND.

The following private letter, written from Paris to a friend in New York by Mr. Harvey, our Minister to Portugal, was received by the last steamer:—

"Paris, June 11, 1861.

My Dear Sir,—It has occurred to me that the results of some of my personal observations, in passing through England, might be acceptable to you. A very considerable reaction has occurred there in the last fortnight, both in the press and in Parliament. I made it a duty, without consulting any one, or making my purpose known at all, to see personally the leading writers in the *Times*, *Post*, *News*, and *Herald*, and to convince them by practical facts of the mistakes into which they had fallen, and of the false views which remoteness from the scene of action and misrepresentations had induced them to form. Some of them responded promptly and creditably, others were slow to relinquish preconceived ideas, but gradually yielded, and have now almost come over to our side.

The popular sentiment in England, Ireland and Scotland is almost entirely with *us*; and the knowledge of that fact has had much to do, undoubtedly, with the recent action of the government. All the people I met in cars, steamboats, hotels and institutions, and with whom I had an opportunity of conversation—which I always sought when it was proper—were ardent for the Union, and anxious for its preservation at any cost. I did not meet one man who expressed sympathy with the Southern movement. Spurgeon preached to a congregation of over six thousand people, last Sunday, and closed with a prayer for the North, and the extinction of slavery. The response from that mighty multitude was like the muttering of distant thunder. Such an amen never fell on my ears before. That fact tells the feeling which exists among the masses in England, and which no Ministry dare resist.

The public men whom I have met in Europe look to the new administration with great confidence for a solution of the great problem which now convulses our unhappy country, and they seem to see in the means now adopted the promise of a satisfactory end.

If I can be of any use at Lisbon or elsewhere, issue an edict. Commend me very kindly to your household, and believe me to be, plainly, your friend,

JAMES E. HARVEY."

A VISIT TO GARIBALDI.

Turin, June 22, 1861.

Just returned from Caprera, I can give you the assurance that Garibaldi, whom foreign papers describe as sick, is in the best of health, full of hope for the cause of freedom, and ready to take part in the imminent struggle. I had the opportunity of conversing with him on political events, past, present, and future, and found him well informed as to all questions in the West as well as in the East, giving his clear and unbiased judgment about men and events in telling words, in which the cheerfulness and dignity of his character find a most happy expression. Mentioning America, he spoke with the greatest sympathy for the rights of the Nation, but he could not conceal that, for the present moment, he takes the struggle to be a great political war, not a war of liberty, though the cause of freedom must ultimately be advanced by the victory of the Union, of which he has not the slightest doubt.

"I know the difficulties," he said, "which prevent the Federal Government, even now, from proclaiming the liberty of the slaves; but so long as the legal existence of slavery is acknowledged, the war remains a political war. Had it been otherwise, I would have offered my sword to those who are willing to put down that degrading institution, which I know sufficiently from experience in Brazil."

I expressed my opinion that he might probably soon find an occasion nearer home once more to wield his powerful sword for liberty.

"I hope so," said he, "and am fully aware that the cause of liberty is the same all over the world. I am ready, with my friends, to go to the assistance of any people fighting for freedom, as soon as I am called, for I do not wish to be an intruder. I go only where I know that I am welcome."

"And how do you desire to be called?" asked I.

"There is but one way of calling me," he answered, "by the sound of muskets. However desperate may be the struggle, I will go to assist those who rise for liberty, whether in Greece or Hungary."
—*Correspondent of the New York Tribune.*

CONTENTMENT OF THE SLAVES.

Mr. Russell, Correspondent of the London *Times*, writing from New Orleans under date of May 22, says:—

In the course of my journeying southward, I have failed to find much evidence that there is any apprehension on the part of the planters of a servile insurrection, or that the slaves are taking much interest in the coming contest, or know what it is about. But I have my suspicions that all is not right; paragraphs meet the eye, and odd sentences strike the ear, and little facts here and there come to the knowledge, which arouse curiosity and doubt. There is one stereotyped sentence which I am tired of: "Our negroes, sir, are the happiest, the most contented, and the best off of any people in the world."

The violence and reiterance of this formula cause one to inquire whether anything which demands such insistance is really in the condition predicated, and, for myself, I always say, "It may be so, but as yet I do not see the proof of it. The negroes do not look to be what you say they are." For the present, that is enough, as to one's own opinions. Externally, the paragraphs which attract attention, and the acts of the authorities, are inconsistent with the notion that the negroes are all very good, very happy, or at all contented, not to speak of their being in the superlative condition of enjoyment; and, as I only see them, as yet, in the most superficial way, and under the most favorable circumstances, it may be that when the cotton-picking season is at its height,—and it lasts for several months, when the labor is continuous, from sunrise to sunset,—there is less reason to accept the assertions as so largely and generally true of the vast majority of the slaves. "There is an excellent gentleman over there," said a friend to me, "who gives his overseers a premium of $10, on the birth of every child on his plantation." "Why so?" "Oh, in order that the overseers may not work the women in the family-way overmuch." There is little use in this part of the world in making use of inferences. But where overseers do not get the premium, it may be supposed they do work the pregnant women too much. Here are two paragraphs which do not look very well as they stand:—

"Those negroes who were taken with a sudden leaving on Sunday night last, will save the country the expenses of their burial if they keep dark from these parts. They and other of the 'breden' will not be permitted to express themselves quite so freely in regard to their braggadocio designs upon virtue in the absence of volunteers."—*Wilmington (Clintock Co.) Watchman.*

"Served Him Right. One day last week, some colored individual, living near South Plymouth, made a threat that, in case a civil war should occur, 'he would be one to ravish the wife of every Democrat, and to help murder their offspring, and wash his hands in their blood.' For this diabolical assertion, he was hauled up before a committee of white citizens, who adjudged him forty stripes on his naked back. He was accordingly stripped, and the lashes were laid on with such a good will that blood flowed, at the end of the castigation.—*Washington, (Fayette County,) Register;*

It is reported that the patrols are strengthened; and I could not help hearing a charming young lady say to another, the other evening, that "she would not be afraid to go back to the plantation, though Mrs. Brown Jones said she was afraid her negroes were after mischief."